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THE WORK OF
PREPARING THIS RENDERING
OF THE UTOPIA
IS DEDICATED TO
A DEAR MEMORY

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS EDITION

The special object of this edition of "Utopia" is evident from the title-page. It seems to have become a habit with editors and publishers to re-issue the work for students of literature mainly, with notes and glossary to elucidate the mediæval English text. The aim of the present edition has been to render Ralph Robinson's mediæval English translation, from the original Latin in which More wrote the Utopia some 400 years ago (1516), into thorough-paced modern English, with a view to opening the pages of one of the most wonderful bits of romantic and imaginative writing in the whole range of English literature to the general reader of to-day.

My feeling is that quite apart from its interest as literature, by which it appeals to scholars and students, the "Utopia" is even more interesting in its thought, as a contribution to Romance, and incidentally to Economics and Sociology. As such it is as vivid, living, and pertinent to-day as it was 400 years ago when More was writing it down, and his friend Erasmus was reading it and corresponding with him about it. I have paraphrased with absolute freedom, translating from Robinson's mediæval English (2nd edition, 1556) as I should from a foreign language, intent simply on reproducing the original thought in as palatable form of current expression as possible. I have thought it justifiable and convenient to put my version out under a distinctive main title, which nevertheless promptly identifies it, in order that it may not be

confused with the numerous editions for the student and scholar, which are useless for the general reader.

As I am hoping that More's marvellous work—quite as entertaining for readers of fiction to-day, I venture to think, as modern romances are—will be widely read, a very few words about the author's life, the work itself, and its bearing on current questions, will be in order.

Sir Thomas More was the eldest son of John More, an English judge. He was born February 7, 1478, in London. He left school early, to enter the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor of England. Thence he proceeded to Oxford, where he became proficient in the classics, the famous scientist, Linacre, being his Greek tutor. Before his course was

complete his father took him from Oxford and put him to the Law in London. Shortly after this, commenced his intimate friendship with Erasmus, founded upon mutual interest in literature and philosophy. In 1504 More entered Parliament, in the reign of Henry VII, whose enmity he provoked by opposing the extortionate levies of the King's ministers, and for the time being More had to abandon his public career. His life for a period became that of a hermit, from which, however, he was ultimately diverted by the influence of his friends—amongst them Colet, the famous Dean of St. Paul's. In 1505 More married his first wife, by whom he had four children. In 1509, on the acccession of Henry VIII., he addressed to the monarch a long poem, entitled "Carmen Gratulatorium," which brought him into favourable notice and resulted in

a succession of public honours in addition to his thriving practice as a barrister. In 1510 his first wife died, and he subsequently married a widow who should be a mother to his young family. In 1515 he was appointed to serve upon the embassy mentioned at the opening of "Utopia," and it was the following year that the work was first printed in Latin. More accomplished his part as delegate so successfully, that shortly after his return the King and Cardinal Wolsey (then Chancellor) persuaded him to enter the Court. He filled several lesser offices; was knighted in 1521; made Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523; and, finally, at the fall of Wolsey in 1529, succeeded him as Lord Chancellor. The King held More in the greatest affection—until More declined to uphold him in the matter of the divorce of Catherine of Arragon, in

consequence of which in 1532 he gave up the seals of office and did not attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn. The breach widened, and More, ever true to his principles even at his peril, refused to take the oath required by the Act of Succession, declaring Princess Mary (afterwards Queen of England), daughter of Catherine, illegitimate, and assuring the succession to the children of Anne Boleyn. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and fifteen months after was beheaded there—a noble Christian and a brave philosopher to the end.

The records of his life show him, throughout, a true product of his day—that period of transition from Feudal Mediævalism with its corrupt dominant Roman Catholicism, to the Renaissance with its quickening of intellectual life and its revival of interest in classical literature and philosophy

which ultimately cleared the way for the Reformation. More's public career shows the continual conflict within him between these two influences. Both were strongly rooted in him at different impressionable periods of his life, but they were so essentially opposite in aim and direction that not even his powerful intellect could reconcile their divergent doctrines. The worldly-wise—withal humanly noble—teachings of the Greek sages, as exemplified in the seven words of wisdom: Know thyself; Know the Opportunity; Nothing too much; can never share in peace the true loyalty of the adherents of the unworldly and infinitely noble teaching of Christ.

This is evident, too, as you read the "Utopia." More had, it is said, a manner of conversation that frequently baffled his own home circle as to

whether he was in earnest or joking—whether he was upholding some point of view or deriding it. The ultimate impression left upon me by the "Utopia" is that it was written very much in that frame of mind. It seems to be the mental exercise of a man of the world,—a statesman's intellect taking relaxation from the responsibility of practical life and politics along the freer, lighter paths of abstract theory and fugitive imagination. I cannot think that we must believe that More actually advocated all that is set forth there, even recollecting that he, as a public man, dare not seem to entertain personally ideas then so dangerous, or that we need wonder why in practical statesmanship he seemed so unwilling to act upon all the principles of liberality and toleration expressed by his supposed mouth-piece, Raphael Hythlodaye. It were idle to

pretend to assert anything on this head, but it appears a reasonable and satisfactory explanation of seeming contradictions in his life and writings, that the two conflicting forces representative of Mediævalism and Renaissance met in him without either of them obtaining mastery, and made him what he was—a noble, if inconsistent, character; a powerful intellect, face to face with still more powerful circumstances; and according to his lights that triumphant witness to the Sonship of Man, a "faithful failure."

Indeed if some of our modern muck-rakers and reformers who fly into print on the slightest provocation would make way for Sir Thomas More they would do a greater service to the reading public than they could believe He does not drive out one unclean spirit only to let seven others more wicked

than the first enter into possession. The sum of his teaching is that Christian civilization should advance along the *via media* towards that bright ideal which he holds up to us, and with which he illumines the multifarious facets of human life. Control and regulation of population; the evils of superfluous militarism; prison systems and treatment of criminals; abuse of power and privilege by officialdom; the tyranny of capital over labour; the exclusive greed of landlordism; provision for old-age; women and government; town-planning and municipal enterprise—these are some of the subjects discussed on our way through Utopia, and which formed the conversation of the travelled men of that day—only 400 years ago!

There are those who claim that the "Utopia" is socialistic: and in a sense it is—in the same sense

as is Plato's "Republic" which gave the author his idea, the "Republic" treating the subject analytically while the "Utopia" deals with it synthetically, so to speak. More's life shows, however, that while he cherished ideals in common with other well-wishers of posterity, he was, if a socialist at all according to current terminology, a socialist of the moderate, not of the revolutionary type; a socialist whose motto was *festina lente;* who held that the social system called for certain remedies and needed radical readjustment—But: Know the opportunity! Nothing too much! A socialist he was perhaps in his abstract ideals, but, as often with one who happens to be a statesman too, a progressive liberal in practical politics.

As to its bearing on current problems, I do not know whether the pathos and humour of the situation will strike the reader as it strikes me.

Four hundred years,—and we are still busy discussing to-day the same burning questions around our parish pumps! Four hundred years,—and we look upon incubators as the product of modern inventiveness in an age of marvellous mechanical and practical achievement—as it surely is! Four hundred years,—and the subject of international disarmament and abolition of war receives alternately the biting scorn and glowing peroration of our statesmen! (Heaven and earth!) to realize this ought to make us pause and swallow our conceit, and appreciate the stupendous influence we have to reckon with when we try to inculcate new principles, new doctrines, new laws! On the endless path of evolving civilization four hundred years are but as yesterday,—as a watch in the night!

And then I turn from contemplating this vast his-

torical perspective, in which four hundred years is a mere futility, and come back to the present. I realize myself a participant in the striving of nationalities,—of national entities. I feel the very throb of their heart-beats, as of living organisms, each in the throes of its noble struggle towards freedom and light and truth. I catch the inspired soul-cry of some forerunner of the day to his contemporaries; they will not heed; posterity will make him one of their leaders! I try to catch the echo of that cry as it penetrates into the far, far future— of another four hundred years perhaps!—if I might hear whether it becomes a living Word. But in vain—the echo loses itself and is drowned in the turmoil and hubbub of the present as it rises insistent and irrepressible.

That is the pathos—and the humour of it comes in when I turn my attention from its gaze into the beyond, and let it wander down into the street below me. Behold the mincing woman of fashion and the swaggering clubman, intent on nothing in this world, past, present, or to come, but the cut of their clothes and the pleasure-ward trend of their steps!

And the words of More's "Finale" fill my mind: "I cannot doubt that the interests of the general welfare, or the teaching of our Saviour Christ (who in His great wisdom could not but know what were best, and in His inestimable goodness could not but counsel it), would have converted the whole world long ago to the principles governing the Utopian commonwealth, but for that vile mother of all mis-

chief, Pride, who withstands it. She does not measure wealth and prosperity by her own sufficiency, but by the misery and want of others! She would not willingly be made a goddess, if there were no wretches over whom she might, like a scornful lady, rule and triumph; over whose miseries her felicity might shine, whose poverty she might torment and increase by the gorgeous display of her riches! That hell-hound creeps into men's hearts and hinders them from entering the right path of life, and is so firmly established that she cannot be ousted!"

V. P.

Hampstead Square.

PART I

The Meeting Between the Author and Raphael Hythlodaye and Their Conversation Regarding Abuses in the Governmental Systems of European Nations

His Majesty, Henry VIII., King of England, had recently some weighty matters under deliberation with Charles, King of Spain. In order to discuss them, and finally determine upon them, King Henry sent me as his ambassador to Flanders, with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man beyond compare, whom his majesty, to the great delight of everyone, lately preferred to the of-

fice of Master of the Rolls. But I need say nothing here in his praise—not because I fear that small credence will be given to the testimony that comes out of a friend's mouth, but because his qualities and his learning are so distinguished that it is not for me to commend them; and they are now so famous and so perfectly well known that I had better not praise them, for fear I should seem, as the proverb says, to be holding up a candle to show off the brightness of the sun.

There met us at Bruges, as agreed upon beforehand, those who had been appointed commissioners by the King of Spain—all of them excellent men. The chief of them was the Margrave, as they call him, of Bruges, a man of high standing, but the wisest and best spoken of them was George Temsice, a provost of Cassel—a man of singular excellence, not

only by learning, but also by nature; profoundly learned in law; and in reasoning and debating, what with natural wit and constant practice he certainly had few equals. After we had met once or twice, and could not fully agree upon certain points or articles, they took their leave of us for a time, and proceeded to Brussels, there to know their Prince's pleasure. I, in the meantime, went straight to Antwerp, where I had business to transact.

While I was staying there a certain Peter Giles, a citizen of Antwerp, a man of good reputation and enjoying high promotion, often visited me, and was more welcome than any other of my acquaintance there. It was hard to say whether this young man was more distinguished for his learning or for his fine character; he was certainly wonderfully high principled, singularly well educated, and exceed-

ingly good mannered towards all classes of people; and he was so kind-hearted, so affectionate, and so faithful to his friends, that it would be very hard to find a man anywhere who could be compared with him in his talent for friendship. No one could be more diffident and courteous; no one could use less simulation or dissimulation; no one could be possessed of more prudent simplicity. Besides this he was so merry and pleasant in his talk and communication—and yet without harm—that his entertaining society greatly diminished my longing to return to my native country, my wife and my children, whom I much desired to see after an absence of more than four months.

One day I attended divine service at Notre Dame, which is the most beautiful, the most gorgeous and curious church in the city, as well as the most frequented. The service

over, I was about to go home to my lodging, when I chanced to espy Peter Giles talking with a stranger, an elderly man, with a black sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak thrown homely about his shoulders, whom, by his looks and dress, I at once judged to be a sailor. But Peter, having caught sight of me, came across and greeted me.

And as I was about to return his greeting: "Do you see that man?" he asked, indicating the man that I saw him talking with before, "I was intending to bring him straight home to you!"

"He would be very welcome," said I, "for your sake."

"And for his own sake, if you knew him. There is no man living who can tell you of so many strange and unknown peoples and countries, as he can, and I know how much you enjoy hearing of such things."

"Then I was not far wrong," said I, "for at very first sight I took him for a sailor."

"No: there you were greatly mistaken. Though he has sailed indeed, it was not so much as a Palinurus, but rather as a Ulysses—or perhaps still rather as that ancient sage and philosopher, Plato. For Raphael Hythlodaye—that is his name—is very well versed in Latin, and in Greek he is a distinguished and thorough scholar. He always gave more time to the study of Greek than Latin, because he devoted himself wholly to the pursuit of Philosophy, of which he knew that there was nothing of any importance extant in Latin, save a few of Seneca's and Cicero's works.

"The patrimony that he inherited he left to his family. He was a Portuguese born, and as he desired to get to know the far countries of the world, he joined company with Americus

Vespucius. In three voyages of the four that are now in print, and in everyone's hands, he remained with him throughout; in the last voyage, however, he did not come home with him, but managed by persistent requests to obtain leave from Master Americus—though sorely against his will—to be one of the twenty-four who towards the end of the voyage were left behind in the country of Gulike

"So there he was left, always having thought more about travelling than about dying, and often having on his lips such sayings as 'He that has no grave, is yet covered with the sky;' or, 'the way to Heaven from all places is of equal distance.' This hobby of his, if God had not been so good a friend to him, would certainly have cost him dear!

"After Vespucius had sailed, and when Raphael had travelled through several coun-

tries, with five companions, natives of Gulike, at last by remarkable good luck he arrived at Ceylon, whence he proceeded to Calicut, where he happened to find some Portuguese ships by which he returned to his native country, to the astonishment of all his friends."

When Peter had told me all this, I thanked him for his kindness in thinking of introducing me to a man whose conversation he thought would be so interesting to me. We then turned towards Raphael, and when we had greeted each other, and had said such things as are customary at the first meetings of strangers, we all went on to my house, and there, in my garden, upon a bench covered with green turfs, we sat and talked together.

There he told us how, after the departure of Vespucius, he and his comrades who stayed

behind in Gulike began little by little, by fair speech, to win the good-will of the inhabitants, so that within a short time they dwelt amongst them not only quite unharmed, but actually on terms of familiar intercourse. He told us also that they were in high favour with a certain great man (whose name I have now quite forgotten) who generously bore the expense of himself and his five companions, and gave them, besides, a trusty guide who conducted them on their journey to visit other Princes to whom he gave them introductions.

Thus, he said, after many days journey they found towns and cities and states, full of people governed by good and sound laws. But at the equator, and on both sides of it, they came upon great deserts and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dried up with the continual and intolerable heat. In these deserts everything is hideous,

terrible, loathsome, unpleasant, disordered, and without beauty; they are inhabited by wild beasts and serpents, or else by people no less savage, wild, and noisome than the beasts themselves. But a little beyond that belt, things gradually become more pleasant: the air is soft, temperate and mild; the ground is covered with verdure; the animals are less savage, and ultimately you come again to people, cities and towns where there is continual interchange of merchandise, not only between themselves and neighbouring nations, but also with merchants who come from foreign countries, by land or water. From there, he said, they had the opportunity to visit many countries, for whenever a ship was starting on a voyage he and his companions were gladly allowed to join it.

The boats that they met with first were

built plain, flat, and broad in the bottom, trough-wise; the sails were of great rushes or wicker-work, and in some places of leather. Later on they found ships with ridged keels and canvas sails, and in time they came across craft just like ours. The sailors were very expert and knowing, both in the art of seamanship and sailing; but he said he earned their special gratitude and good will by teaching them the use of the loadstone, which was unknown to them before, and for that reason they had been very timid and cautious at sea, only sailing in the summer. But after that they had such confidence in the loadstone that they faced the stormiest winter weather without fear, and without taking even ordinary care in times of danger; indeed, he feared that through their own fool-hardiness it might bring them misfortune, rather than benefit them, as he had intended.

All that he told us of what he saw in every country he visited would take too long to recount, nor is it my purpose to do so now. But perhaps I shall speak of it in another place,—dealing chiefly with such things as might be known to advantage, especially the legislation which he remarked upon as being well provided and ingeniously enacted, among communities which live in civil policy and good order.

About all such things we busily enquired of him, and he very willingly told us about them; but as for monsters, which are no novelty nowadays, we were not inquisitive: nothing is more easily found than barking Scyllas, ravening Cenenes and Lestrygones, devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters! But to find citizens ruled by good and sound laws —that is an exceedingly rare and difficult thing!

Though he noticed many laws in those new-

found lands which he considered foolish, at the same time he mentioned many which would be examples for our own cities and countries, whereby they might amend their shortcomings. But, as I said, I will treat of them in another place. Presently I shall narrate what he told us of the manners, customs, laws, and ordinances of the Utopians. But first I will repeat our previous conversation, by the drift of which he came to mention the Utopian commonwealth.

When Raphael had touched very judiciously on various things that were amiss, here and there, and spoken of the laws and customs of each country as though he had lived all his life amongst them, Peter, much struck, said: "Master Raphael, I wonder very much that you do not enter some king's court; for I am sure

there is no prince living that would not be very glad of you, a man not only able to delight him with your profound learning and your knowledge of countries and peoples, but also qualified to instruct him from your experience and help him with your advice. In that way you would assure yourself very prosperous circumstances, and also be in a position to help all your friends and relatives."

"As for my friends and relatives," he replied, "I need pay small heed to them, for I think I have already done my part towards them amply. The property that other men do not part with until they are old and feeble—indeed, which they are very loath to leave even when they are obliged—I, while strong and in good health, and still in the flower of my youth, divided among my friends and relatives. This liberality ought, I think, to content them, and they should

not expect me, besides, to give myself into bondage to kings."

"Nay, God forbid that," rejoined Peter; "it is not my idea that you should be in bondage to kings, but be retained by them ,at your pleasure—surely the best way you can devise for spending your time usefully, not only for the personal benefit of your friends and the general profit of all sorts of people, but also for your own promotion to a much wealthier position than you are now in."

"To a wealthier position," objected Raphael, "and by a method to which my inclinations are strongly opposed? Now I live at liberty, and just as I wish, which I think very few of these great statesmen and peers can say. Besides, there are enough already who sue for great men's friendship; so you need not think it will matter if they do not have me, or even three or four others like me."

"Well, I see plainly, friend Raphael," said I, "that you neither crave for riches nor for power, and I reverence and esteem a man of your mind no less than those who are so high in authority. But you would be doing what becomes you, if in accordance with this wisdom, this high and free courage of yours, you could find it in your heart so to place yourself that you could utilize your experience for the public welfare, notwithstanding that it were to your own pain and hindrance; and you will never be able to do this better or more effectively than by identifying yourself with some great ruler's council, and influencing him (as doubtless you would) with honest opinions and upright persuasions. For from a King, as from a perpetual well-spring, flows down among the people the stream of good or evil. But your learning is so wide and your experience so

great that either qualification alone would fit you to be any king's counsellor."

"You are doubly deceived, Master More," replied he; "first in me, and again in the idea itself. Neither have I the ability that you attribute to me; nor, even if I had, should I, by disturbing my own peace of mind, be furthering the public welfare. In the first place most princes take more interest in warlike matters and feats of chivalry (of which I neither have nor desire the knowledge), than in the good feats of peace; and they are much more anxious to enlarge their dominions by right or by wrong, than to rule and govern what they have already, well and peaceably.

"Then again, kings' counsellors are so wise, that they do not,—or else they think themselves so wise that they will not,—take any other man's advice, except when they assent

with shameless flattery to the foolish dicta of certain great men whose favour they are trying to obtain, because they stand well with the prince. Indeed, quite naturally, every one thinks his own opinion best: both the raven and the ape think their young ones fairest!

"Again, if a man in such company,—where some disdain and despise other men's ideas, and others consider their own ideas best,—communicates anything that he has read as having been done in times past, or that he has seen done elsewhere, the hearers behave as if their whole reputation for wisdom were in jeopardy, and as if, unless they could pick holes in the other man's ideas, they would ever after be counted fools! If all other helps fail, then this is their last refuge: 'These things,' say they, 'were good enough for our forefathers and ancestors; would God we were half as wise as

they,' and, as though they had wittily concluded the discussion, and with this answer stopped every man's mouth, they sit down again as who should say, it were a pretty pass if a man should be found wiser in any respect than his forefathers were!

"And yet we are content enough to allow the best and wisest of their decrees to remain unexecuted! On the other hand, if in other instances a better line of action might have been taken, there we hold fast to the old way, constantly finding fault with it! Many times have I chanced upon such proud, ignorant, perverse, and wayward judgments—yes, and once even in England!"

"Indeed, sir," said I, "have you then visited our country?"

"Yes, certainly," answered he, "and stayed there for four or five months,—not long after

the insurrection of the West against the King, which was only suppressed by miserable and pitiless slaughter. During my stay I was much beholden to the right reverend father, John Morton, Archbishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England—a man, Master Peter (as Master More knows already), not more honoured for his high office than for his wisdom and character. He was of small stature, and though an old man, bore himself upright. In his face shone such amiable reverence as was pleasant to behold; gentle in conversation, yet earnest and wise. He used to take great delight in addressing his suitors roughly, to test whether they possessed a ready wit and a bold spirit,—though intending no offence. This quality, so long as it was not marred by impudence, pleased him greatly, it being in sympathy with his na-

ture; and such people, being worthy to take part in the administration of the state, he cordially welcomed.

"In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful. These qualities, with which he was remarkably endowed by nature, he perfected by learning and practice. The King put full trust in his counsel; the state, also, looked to him, when I was there. While still a youth he was taken from school to live at court, and there passed his time amidst incessant trouble, being continually tumbled and tossed upon the waves of various misfortunes and adversities. And so he came to gain experience of the world, which being thus learned cannot easily be forgotten.

"It happened one day, as I sat at his table, there was present also a layman, well versed in

the laws of your realm, who began,—I cannot tell what led to it,—earnestly praising the straight and rigorous justice which at that time was meted out to felons, whom as he said, were sometimes hung, twenty upon one gallows. And seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not help wondering by what evil luck it came to pass that thieves were nevertheless so rife and rank everywhere!

"Why, sir," said I,—(I could speak my mind boldly before the Cardinal)—"you need not wonder at that, for such punishment of thieves passes the limits of justice, and is also very harmful to the state; it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to restrain men from theft. Simple theft is not so great an offence that it ought to be punished with death, nor is there any punishment so horrible that it can keep those from stealing who

have no other means by which to get their living. In this, not your nation only, but also a great part of the world, are like bad schoolmasters, readier to beat than to teach their scholars. The law is such that severe punishment is inflicted upon thieves; whereas provision should rather have been made whereby they might get their living honestly, so that no one should be driven to such extremity as to be forced first to steal, and then to die for it."

"Yes," replied he, "but that is well enough provided for already. There are trades and farm work for them to get their living by, if they don't wish to be idle."

"No, no!" said I, "you shall not escape by such an argument! I will say nothing of those who come home from the wars, maimed and lame (as not long ago from Blackheath Field and a little before that from the wars with

France), such as risk their lives for king and country, and by reason of weakness or being incapacitated are not able to follow their old occupations, and are too old to learn new ones; of them I will say nothing, inasmuch as wars are inevitable. But let us consider for a moment what goes on daily before our eyes.

"First there is a great number of gentlemen who are content to live idly, like drones, on what others have laboured for,—their tenants, I mean, whom they tax and shave to the quick by raising their rents—the only notion of economy entertained by men who, on the other hand, bring themselves to beggary by their lavish and prodigal expenditure. Then again, such men not only live in idleness themselves, but carry about with them at their tails, a great train of idle servants, who have never mastered any occupation for a livelihood. These men,

as soon as their masters are dead, or they themselves fall ill, are promptly turned out of doors; for such gentlemen would rather keep idle persons about them, than sick men. Again, a dead man's heir is often unable to maintain as large a house, and keep as many serving-men, as his father did. In the meantime, they that are thus destitute, either starve or manfully play the thief! For what would you have them do? When they have wandered about so long that they have worn their clothes threadbare, and ruined their health, then, because of their pale and sickly faces and patched coats, gentlemen will not take them into service. And farmers dare not set such a one to work, knowing well enough that he is not equal to working with a spade and mattock for small wages and hard fare, having been daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, and used to

strut through the streets with a bragging look, and with sword and buckler by his side, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate."

"No, by Saint Mary," argued the lawyer, "that is not so; for in such as these, who are men of stouter stomachs, bolder spirits, and manlier courage than artisans and ploughmen, consists the whole strength and might of our army, in time of need!"

"Indeed, sir, you might as well say," I retorted, "that for the sake of war you must cherish thieves, for you will certainly never lack thieves while you have that class of man! Furthermore, thieves are not the most false and fainthearted soldiers, nor are soldiers the most cowardly thieves—so well do these two callings agree! Not that this evil, widespread as it is among you, is peculiar to you; it is common to almost all nations. In fact France is troubled

with a much sorer plague. The whole kingdom is filled with hired soldiers in peace-time, maintained for the same false reasons that persuade you to keep such hoards of idle men-servants. For those wise-fools and very arch-dolts think the well-being of the whole country depends upon having always in readiness a strong and reliable garrison—especially of trained soldiers; they put no trust at all in untrained men.

"Thus, in order that they may always have trained soldiers and cunning manslayers, they are forced to keep going to war, lest (as Salust aptly says) their hands and their minds should grow dull through idleness or lack of exercise.

"But the French have learned to their own cost how pernicious a thing it is to maintain such beasts,—as the examples of the Romans, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other countries prove; for on many occasions the whole

Empire and its fields and cities have been overrun and destroyed by their own standing armies.

"Now, how unnecessary such a policy is, appears from this: that the French soldiers, who from their youth have been practiced and inured in militarism, cannot boast of having very often got the upper hand of your raw, untrained soldiers. But on this I will say little, lest I seem to flatter you. As for the artisans of your cities, and the uplandish ploughmen of the country, they are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your gentlemen's idle serving-men,—except, perhaps, such as are not of stature corresponding to their courage, or whose natural bravery is reduced through poverty. There need be no fear that they will become effeminate, if they are brought up to get their living by healthy industry and laborious work; on the

other hand, those whose stout and sturdy bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt none but picked and chosen men) are enfeebled by rest and idleness, are made weak and unable to endure hardship by easy and womanly duties. However the case stands, it seems to me it is of no benefit to the state, merely for the sake of a war, which you need never enter upon against your will, to maintain a multitude of that sort of men, who are so troublesome and noxious in peace-time. To the resources of peace you ought to devote a thousand times more attention than to provision for war.

"But this, though a considerable source of evil, is not the only cause of stealing. There is another, which, as I understand, is peculiar to you Englishmen."

"What is that?" asked the Cardinal.

"Indeed, my lord," said I, "your sheep that

were so meek and tame and such small eaters, now, as I hear, have become so ravenous and wild, that they are eating up the very men themselves! They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities! In whatever part of the country the finest, and therefore the dearest, wool is grown, there, noblemen and gentlemen,—yes, and even certain abbots, holy men no doubt!—not content with the yearly revenues and profits that accrued to their forefathers and predecessors, or with living in rest and pleasure while they themselves are useless and at times even injurious to the state, leave no ground for tillage, enclose all for pasture, pull down houses and towns, and leave nothing standing but the church, which they make into a sheephouse! And as though you had not already lost extensive agricultural lands by conversion into forests, chases, and

parks, these good and holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebe-land into desolation and wilderness!

"Thus, in order that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country, may enclose many thousand acres of ground within one fence or hedge, the labourers on the land are driven out of their own; or are deprived of it by deceit, fraud, or violent oppression; or being so harassed by wrongs and injuries are compelled to sell it. By one means or another, by hook or by crook, they must needs depart, poor helpless wretched souls,—men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes and their whole household! Away they trudge, out of their homes, and can find no place to rest in. All their household goods, of very little value except as possessions, they are

forced to dispose of for almost nothing, being suddenly evicted.

"And when they have wandered about till that little is spent, what else can they do but steal,—and then, justly you will say, be hanged! Or else they go about begging, until they are cast into prison as vagabonds, without work; yet no one would give them work, no matter how willing they were to do it.

"One shepherd or herdsman can tend live-stock enough to pasture upon ground, which, if cultivated, would occupy many hands. Again, food has become dearer in many places; and besides, the price of wool has risen so much, that the poor folk who used to weave it into cloth are now unable to buy any at all, and very many are forced to abandon work and to remain in idleness. For after so much ground was enclosed for pasture, an infinite number of

sheep died of the rot,—such vengeance God took of their inordinate and insatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep a pestiferous murrain, which should more justly have fallen on the sheep-masters' own heads! And though the number of sheep increase faster than ever, the price does not fall one mite, because there are so few sellers, all rich men, who need not sell before they wish to, and therefore only sell when the price is highest.

"Now the same trouble accounts for the dearth in other kinds of livestock, aggravated by the fact that after all the farms have been destroyed and husbandry has decayed, no one is encouraged to raise stock, These rich men do not raise calves as they do lambs, but having bought them abroad very cheap, and afterwards fattened them in their own pastures, they sell them again very dear. And so, I suppose,

the whole inconvenience of the system has not yet been felt, except in the places where they sell; but when they begin to sell faster than they can breed, great dearth is bound to be felt also in the breeding places. Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few has been disastrous to the industry which was the very mainstay of your whole island. And this same lack of food induces people to keep small households and show as scant hospitality as possible, and to discharge their servants. And where, I ask, do these servants go, but abegging? or else (which these gentle bloods and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds to) astealing?

"Now it does not mend matters that this wretched poverty and beggary brings in its train great lavishness, luxury, and excessive dissipation. For not only gentlemen's servants, but craftsmen, and even the farm labourers and

other sorts of people, are using much strange and proud newfangleness in their dress and too much sumptuous fare at their tables. Now is it not a fact that brothel-houses, wine-taverns, ale-houses, and such foolish and unlawful games as dice, cards, tennis, bowls, and quoits, drive their frequenters straight to stealing when their money is gone?

"Cast out these pernicious abominations; make a law that those who destroy farms, towns and husbandry shall restore them or else yield possession to those who will go to the cost of replacing them! Do not allow rich men to buy up everything, and to monopolize the market! Do not let so many people be brought up in idleness; let husbandry and tillage be restored; let cloth-working be re-established, that there may be honest labour for the idlers to pass their time in profitably, in place of the poverty which

has made them vagabonds or idle serving-men who in time will become thieves!

"It is certain that unless you find a remedy for these evils, you will execute justice upon felons in vain; for this justice is more plausible and meretricious than just or beneficial. By allowing your youth to be brought up wantonly and viciously, and to be gradually infected with vice from their childhood, and then, in God's name, to be punished when they commit the same faults as men—in this, I pray, what else do you do but first make thieves and then punish them?"

When I had thus concluded, the lawyer prepared to speak, and, like all disputers, was more eager to hear himself talk than to reply to my arguments.

"Indeed, sir," said he, "you have spoken well, being but a stranger, and consequently more

likely to have heard smatterings of these matters than to have any exact or perfect knowledge of them,—as I will clearly prove. First I will rehearse in order all that you have said; then I will declare wherein you are deceived through lack of knowledge of all our fashions, manners, and customs; and last of all I will answer your arguments and confute them every one. First, then, I will begin where I promised."

"Hold your peace," quoth the Cardinal, "for it appears you will give no short answer if you make such a beginning! So you need not be at the trouble of making your answer now, but keep it till our next meeting, which as far as I am concerned shall gladly be to-morrow, unless either you or Master Raphael have anything to prevent you. But now, Master Raphael, I would much like to hear why you think theft

should not be punished with death, and what other more expedient punishment you can devise. I am sure you would not have theft left unpunished—for if the extreme punishment of death cannot deter people from stealing, and ruffians and robbers were secure of their lives, what fear would effectively restrain them from robbing, to whom the mitigation of the punishment would be a mere provocation to mischief?"

"Surely, my lord," replied I, "I think it neither right nor just that loss of money should cause loss of man's life. My opinion is that all the goods in the world are not equivalent to man's life. But if it is argued that this punishment is inflicted for breaking the law, and not for the loss of the money, then such rigorous justice should be called plain injustice. These cruel and unmerciful laws are unjustifiable, and for so slight an offence the sword should not be

drawn. Such crude administration of justice as fails to discriminate between the killing of a man or the taking of his money is not to be countenanced if you have any respect for equity. God commands: thou shalt not kill; and yet we do not hesitate to kill a man for taking a little money! If we are to limit this commandment of God to coincide with man's laws, why should we not also determine under what circumstances whoredom, fornication, and perjury are lawful! But since God forbids a man to kill either himself or any other man, the human law which sanctions such slaughter of men, ought to be so authoritative that whoever, contrary to the divine law, kills those whom the human law orders to be killed, shall be entirely exempt from the consequences of breaking God's commandment! From this it inevitably follows that the power of God's commandment

can extend no further than human law defines and permits.

"The result will be that man's institutions will always determine how far the observation of all God's commandments shall extend. To be short, the law of Moses, framed for a very stubborn and stiffnecked people, though it was harsh, punished theft by the purse and not with death. Let us not think that God's new law of clemency and mercy, under which He rules us with Fatherly gentleness as His dear children, gives us greater scope for the infliction of cruelty upon each other!

"Now you have heard the reasons why I consider this punishment unlawful. Surely everyone knows how harmful it is to the state, that a thief and a murderer should suffer equal punishment. The thief, seeing that a man condemned for theft receives no less punishment than one

convicted of manslaughter, is tempted to kill when perhaps otherwise he would only have robbed; for, the murder once committed, he is then in less danger of being caught and identified. So while we are endeavouring to daunt thieves by cruelty, we incite them to kill! In my judgment, my lord, it is easier to answer the question: what punishment would be better, than what punishment would be worse!

"Why should we doubt that the system of punishing offenders, approved in times past by the Romans, who were most expert and politic in governmental matters, is a good and serviceable one? Those who were convicted of heinous crimes were condemned to stone quarries, or to mines to dig metal, where they were kept in chains for life.

"But as a matter of fact no legislation of this kind that I have come across in my travels

among the nations of the world surpasses what I found practiced in Persia, among a people called the Polylerites, whose country is extensive, but wisely governed. The people are ruled by their own laws and are free in all respects, except that they pay a yearly tribute to the great Shah of Persia. But since they are far from the sea, almost surrounded by mountains, and are content with the produce of their own land which is very fertile, they have but little intercourse with other countries. According to their tradition they do not desire to extend the boundaries of their dominions, which are easily defended from the hills, and the tribute which they pay to the Shah exempts them from war. Thus their life is Arcadian rather than adventurous, and may be called happy and prosperous rather than notable and famous, for they are unknown even by name, I suppose, except to their immediate neighbours.

"In this country, those who are attainted and convicted of felony make restitution of what they stole to the rightful owner, and not (as they do in other lands) to the king, whom they consider has no more right to the stolen property than the thief himself has. But if the thing is lost or made away with, the value of it is paid by levying upon the offenders' goods, which otherwise are left in the possession of the wives or children. The thieves are condemned to be common labourers, and unless the theft is very outrageous, they are neither imprisoned nor put in fetters, but are left at large, to labour for the community. If they refuse to labour or are slack about their work they are put in chains, and beaten; but if they work well, they are allowed to live unmolested and without disgrace. Every night they are called over by name, and locked in their quarters. Except for the daily labour

their life is not a hard one. Their fare is moderately good, the expense being defrayed by the state, because they are servants of the commonwealth; though this is not the case in all parts of the land. In some places their keep is provided by alms-giving, and though that is less assured, the people are so full of charity and pity that few of the free people themselves are more plentifully provided for. In some places certain lands are appointed for this purpose, out of the revenue of which they are maintained. In other places every one gives a certain tithe for the purpose. Again in others, these serving men, as the condemned persons are called, do no public work, but when a private employer needs labourers, he comes to the market place and there hires some of them by the day, for their food and drink and certain limited wages, somewhat cheaper than he could hire a

free man; it is legal to flog them if they are idle. Thus they never lack employment, and besides earning their keep, everyone of them daily brings something into the common treasury.

"They all wear a common uniform; their heads are not shaven, nor their hair clipped, but it is rounded a little above the ears, and the tip of one ear is cut off. They may accept food from their friends, and also clothes of the prescribed kind; but to receive money is punishable by death, both to the giver and to the receiver. Nor, for any purpose, may a free man accept money from a serving man; nor may serving men carry weapons. The serving men of each shire are distinguished by their several badges, which it is death to discard, as it is also to be seen out of the precincts of their own shire, or to talk with the serving men of another shire.

And dangerous as it is for them to lay plots to escape, it is still more so to carry them out; and to conceal such plots is death for a serving man, for a freeman servitude. On the other hand those who disclose these plots are given large rewards; a free man receives a substantial sum of money, a serving man, freedom; and to both pardon is granted if they have participated in the intrigue; so that there is never so good a prospect for them if they persevere in their evil purpose, as if they repent of it.

"This, as I have shown you, is their administration of the law against theft. How humane it is, how far from being cruel, and how effective it is, you can easily perceive. For the object of punishment should simply be the destruction of vice and the reformation of men, so controlling them that they cannot choose but be good, and if they have done harm, using the

remainder of their lives to make amends. In fact it is so little feared amongst the Polylerites that they will return to their vicious habits, that travellers choose them, in preference, as the safest guides, changing them, and taking new ones in every shire. Even if they intended to commit robbery they have nothing about them for the purpose, since they may not carry weapons; money found on them would betray them, and at the first suspicion they would be punished. Nor can they hope to escape by flight, for how could a man marked by his clothing get away unknown,—unless naked! And even then he would be identified by the cut of his hair and his ear-mark. But it is unlikely that they would lay their heads together and conspire against the state, for the serving men of one shire alone could never hope to succeed in such an enterprise, without soliciting and enticing the serv-

ing men of other shires to take part, which is an impossibility, since they may not as much as talk to or greet one another. And it is not to be thought of that they would take their own countrymen into their counsel, knowing well the danger of doing so, on account of the reward offered for exposure.

"On the other hand none of them need despair of regaining freedom by obedience, patience, and good behaviour, and showing promise that he will afterwards live like an honest man. Every year many of them are rewarded by being given their freedom."

When I had said this, I added that I could see no reason why this system might not be established in England to far greater advantage than the so-called justice which the lawyer had so highly praised.

"Not so," replied the lawyer; "it could never

be established in England, without seriously endangering the state."

So saying, he shook his head, made a wry mouth, and held his peace; and all that were present with one assent agreed!

"Well," remarked the Cardinal, "it would be difficult to judge without experience, whether this system would work well here or not. If when sentence of death is passed, the king were to command the execution to be deferred, in order to test this system (taking away the privilege of all sanctuaries) and it should then be found beneficial, it could be generally adopted. In any case the condemned and reprieved persons could as well and as justly be put to death after this proof as at the outset; and in the meantime no danger would accompany the experiment.

"Indeed, I think that vagabonds might very

well be dealt with in the same way, having legislated against them so frequently and with so little effect."

When the Cardinal had said this, everyone present at once agreed, and gave great praise to my words, though just before they had disputed them! But they praised loudest what was said about the vagabonds, because it was the Cardinal's own addition!

I do not know that there is much object in repeating what followed; it is not very important; but you shall hear it, for there is no harm in it, and it bears upon the subject.

There chanced to be standing by a certain jesting parasite and scoffer, who seemed to be trying to counterfeit the fool; but his imitation was so close to the original, that he almost became in reality what he was trying to represent. He quoted sayings so incongruously that he

himself was more often laughed at than were his jests. Nevertheless now and then the foolish fellow uttered such passable and reasonable witticisms, that he proved the proverb true, which says,—he that shoots often enough, will hit the mark at last. One of the company remarked that, from the account I had given, a good law had been found for thieves, and that the Cardinal had provided well for vagabonds, so that it only remained to make provision for those who through sickness or old age had fallen into poverty, and were become so indigent that they were unable to work for their living.

"Tush," retorted the scoffer, "leave them to me! Instead of bettering their condition, I would have such people driven out of my sight, they have troubled me so often, begging money of me with their lamentable tears. But they

could never tune their song so as to get one farthing out of me, for it always happened either that I would not, or else that I could not because I had not. So now they have grown wise, and when they see me go by they spare their trouble and let me pass without a word. They look for nothing from me—not they—any more than if I were a priest or a monk! I should like to make a law that all these beggars should be distributed and disposed of among the religious houses. I would make the men lay-brethren, as they call them, and the women nuns."

The Cardinal smiled at this, and took it as a joke,—and all the rest in good earnest. But a friar who was present, a graduate in divinity, took such delight in this joke about priests and monks, that though usually a man of grisly and stern gravity, he began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt.

"Nay," laughed he, "you shall not be rid of beggars so, unless you also make some provision for us friars."

"Why," replied the jester, "that has been done already, for my lord himself framed a very good law for you when he decreed that vagabonds should be kept straight and set to work; and, Heaven knows, you are the greatest and veriest vagabonds that exist!"

This jest too, when it was seen that the Cardinal did not disapprove of it, was well received on all sides—except by the friar. But he (and no wonder!) being thus touched on the quick and hit on the gall, so fretted, fumed and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refrain from chiding, scolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribald, villain, backbiter, slanderer, and the child of perdition, quoting into the bargain terrible threats out of

holy writ. Then the jesting scoffer began to play the part of a scoffer indeed, and it must be owned he was good at it—no man better!

"Have patience, good master friar," he retorted, "and be not angry, for Scripture says: in patience you shall save your soul."

Then the friar (I will rehearse his very words) replied: "No, gallows wretch, I am not angry, or at least if I am I do not sin, for the Psalmist says: be ye angry and sin not."

At that the Cardinal spoke gently to the friar, and begged him to calm himself. "No, my lord," said he, "I only speak as a zealous man ought; holy men were zealous, and therefore it is said: 'the zeal of thy house hath eaten me,' and in church it is sung, the scorners of Elisha, while he went up into the house of God, felt the wrath of the bald, as perhaps may one day happen to this scorning ribald villain!"

"You mean well," replied the Cardinal, "but I think it would be wiser and perhaps more holy if you would not match your wit with a fool's, and enter into a foolish contention."

"No, indeed, my lord," said he, "I should not do more wisely. Solomon the wise says, answer a fool according to his folly, as I do now, and show him the pit that he will fall into if he does not take heed. If the many scorners of Elisha,—who was but one bald man,—felt the violence of his wrath, how much more shall one scorner of many friars feel the violence of their wrath,—among whom are many bald men? And we have also the Pope's Bulls, by which all that mock and scorn us are excommunicated, suspended, and accursed."

The Cardinal seeing that no end would be made, privily beckoned the jester away, and turned the conversation to another subject.

Shortly after, when he had risen from table, he went to hear his suitors, and so dismissed us.

X

"Look, Master More," said Raphael, "what a long and tedious tale I have told you, which I should certainly have been ashamed to do, but that you so earnestly pressed me, and paid such close attention to my story that it seemed as though you did not want any part of it left out. I have given it somewhat briefly, but I could not choose but recount it, in order to show you how those who had originally disagreed with my utterances, upon hearing the Cardinal's approval, at once agreed with them, and so impudently flattered him that they were not even ashamed of accepting, almost in good earnest, his jester's foolish notions, because he himself by smiling at them did not seem to disapprove. This, I think, ought to illustrate and

prove to you how little courtiers would esteem me and my sayings."

"I assure you, Master Raphael," I replied, "I have taken great pleasure in hearing all you have described, so wittily and so pleasantly. I imagined meanwhile not only that I was at home in my own country, but a child again,—you recalled such pleasant recollections of the Cardinal, in whose house I was brought up. Indeed, friend Raphael, though, if I may say so, I esteemed you highly before, now that I find you have such great admiration for this good man, you cannot believe how much my esteem for you has increased.

"All this notwithstanding, I still cannot change my mind, and must needs believe that, if you were so disposed and could bring yourself to enter some Ruler's court, you would greatly assist the state with your valuable advice. In-

deed, it seems to me that there is no greater call upon your duty,—or upon the duty of any good man. For if, as Plato says, states can only attain perfect felicity when philosophers become kings, or when kings study philosophy, will it not further the attainment of that ideal if philosophers will vouchsafe to guide kings with their good counsel?"

"Philosophers would gladly do it,—in fact many have done it already, by means of the books which they have written,—if kings and princes cared to follow their good counsel. But," pursued Raphael, "Plato doubtless clearly foresaw that unless kings themselves would apply their minds to the study of philosophy, they would never willingly adopt the advice of philosophers, having been infected in their youth with false and evil opinions. Plato himself proved this true of King Dionysus.

"If I should propose sound laws to any king, and endeavour to root out of his mind the pernicious original causes of vice and waywardness, do you not think that I should at once either be driven away or else be made a laughing stock?

"Well," continued Raphael, "now let us suppose for a moment that I were with the French King, and sitting at his council table, and that in secret consultation, the King himself being present in person, the members of the council were beating their brains and searching the very depths of their wits to discover by what crafty means France might retain possession of Milan, and regain fugitive Naples; or, say, how to conquer the Venetians, and bring all Italy under his jurisdiction; or possibly, how to get dominion of Flanders, Brabant, and of all Burgundy, and of many other lands which the King had invaded in mind and purpose long ago.

"At this council one adviser recommends an armistice with the Venetians (to last as long as shall be thought expedient for the immediate purpose), to take them into their counsel, and to give them part of the booty, which afterwards, when they have effected their final purpose, they would claim again. Another thinks it best to hire the Germans; another to buy the support of the Swiss. Another's advice is to mollify the Emperor with gold,—as with a most acceptable sacrifice; while another advocates peace with the King of Aragon, restoring to him his own kingdom of Navarre as a full assurance of peace. Another comes in with his five eggs, and suggests hooking in the King of Spain, by holding out hope of an alliance, and winning over to their side some of the peers of his court by means of large bribes. Meanwhile all are faced by the most difficult question

of all,—what to do with England; though upon this they are all agreed: to make peace with the Englishmen, and to bind that feeble friendship with strong bands, so that they may be called friends, even though they be suspected as enemies! For this purpose the Scots must be kept in readiness for all possible emergencies, so that in case the English should strain that friendship ever so little, they could set the Scots upon them at once. And, further, secretly—(for it cannot be done openly because of the truce that exists)—to make much of some English peer who has been banished from his country, and who must claim title to the crown of the realm and declare himself rightful heir to it, in order that by this subtle means they may have some hold upon the king, in whom they have but little confidence.

"Here, such important and weighty matters

being under consideration, and so many noble and wise men advocating war, I should be foolish indeed if I should advise them to turn over a new leaf, and not to interfere with Italy, but to remain at home; or if I should argue that the kingdom of France alone being greater than one man can govern well, the King should not endeavour to extend it.

"It would be equally futile to attempt to describe to the council the laws of the Achorians, —a people who live near the southeast side of the Island of Utopia—who once went to war in support of a quarrel created by their king, in order to win him another kingdom to which he laid claim, declaring himself the rightful heir to the crown through an old blood-alliance. When at last they had gained it, they found it was as much trouble to keep it, as it was to obtain possession of it. Either their newly conquered

subjects were constantly rebelling against them, or other countries were continually invading the land, with the result that they were frequently at war and could never disband their army. In the meantime the Achorians themselves became impoverished, their resources were diverted from the development of their own country, and their men were killed fighting to maintain another nation from foreigners. Even when they were not at war, peace was little better, because the people had become so inured to corrupt habits that they revelled in robbing, stealing, manslaughter, and all sorts of crime, and the law was held in contempt and ignored. Finally, the king being troubled with the government of two kingdoms, could not properly discharge his duty to either.

"At last, realizing that all these troubles would be endless, the Achorians laid their heads

together, and like loyal subjects gave their king free choice to keep whichever of the two kingdoms he preferred, it being evident he could not keep both, since each was more than could be governed by half a king: no one would pay the hire of a muleteer who kept another man's mules besides! So the King had to be content with his old kingdom, and to give the new to one of his friends, who shortly after was violently expelled.

"Or again, if at that same council I were to explain that all this busy preparation for war, by which the King of France would bring many nations to loggerheads, would merely empty his coffers, waste his reserves, cause the destruction of his people,—all to no purpose,—and urged that therefore he should be content with his own kingdom of France as his forefathers and predecessors had been, and should make much

of it, enrich it, make it as flourishing as possible, endeavour to love his subjects and in return be beloved by them, be willing to live amongst them, and to govern them peaceably, and not to interfere with other kingdoms since already he possessed more than he could well manage:—such advice as this, Master More, how do you think it would be taken?"

"Heaven help me, not very gratefully!" I replied.

"Well, now, let us take another illustration," said he. "Suppose some king and his council were whetting their wits and ingeniously devising how to enrich the treasury. First one suggests that they should enhance the value of money when the king has to pay any debts, and depreciate its face value when any debt is due to him; in that way large sums could be paid with little money, and where little was due

much would be received. Another councillor advises feigning preparation for war, and when the king has collected great sums of money by this pretence, that he should then make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies, to blind his poor subjects and appear to them to be a loving and merciful prince. Another reminds the king of certain old and moth-eaten laws, that have not been put into execution for a long time, and, being forgotten, are frequently broken. He advises the king to levy the fines due under these laws; for there is no way of getting money which seems so honourable as one which has some colour of justice! Another advises him to create monopolies, in connection with such trades as are not for the general benefit of the people, and enforce them by means of large penalties and fines, and to compensate out of the funds thus collected those who sus-

tain loss and damage thereby. By this means a bid is made for the support of the people, and profit accrues in two ways: first by taking fines from those whose covetousness has brought them within reach of the law; secondly, by selling privileges and licenses. In regard to revenue from the latter source, the better a prince is, the dearer he sells, so that he may appear loath to grant to any private person a monopoly which is not in the interests of his people.

"Another of the statesmen suggests that the king shall let the judges of the realm remain in doubt as to the continuance of his favour, in order that he may always have them on his side; and that he shall summon them to the palace to argue his suits in his presence. In this way, no matter how flagrantly wrong and unjust the king's case may be, one of the judges will be willing enough to set a trap for the

other party to the case, either because he has something actual to allege against him, or he is anxious to dissent from what has been ruled already, or because he wants to curry favour with the King.

"While the judges are thus disagreeing among themselves, reasoning and arguing about matters which are already plain enough, and bringing the manifest truth into doubt, the king can easily discover which version of the law is most to his advantage,—whereupon all will agree to it, because they are ashamed or afraid to dissent, and the judges can boldly pronounce for the king. He needs no excuse who gives judgment for the king; it is sufficient for him to have equity on his side, or the bare letter of the law, or a twisted version of it, or else (which with good and just judges is of greater force than all law) the king's indisputable preroga-

tive! To conclude, all counsellers agree with Croesus, that no amount of gold can suffice for a king who has to keep up an army; and, furthermore, that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjust, since all that his subjects have, and even they themselves, are his, every one possessing just so much as the king's leniency has not taken from him! And, it is argued, it is of course to the king's advantage that his subjects shall possess very little, his chief safeguard consisting in their not becoming independent by wealth and liberty, because under such conditions people will not submit to a strict, unjust, and unlawful administration! On the other hand, want and poverty subdue men's courage, making them patient, perforce, and quelling their rebellious spirit.

"Here again, how could I rise up boldly and declare that all these counsels are a dishonour

and reproach to a king, whose honour and safety are better assured by the wealth and prosperity of his people than by his own opulence? Could I protest that a nation chooses its king for its own sake, not for his, in order that through his care and diligence they may all live prosperously, safe from wrongs and injuries; and that therefore the king ought to care more for the well-being of his people than for his own wealth, since the duty of a shepherd is rather to feed his sheep than himself?

"The very fact that such statesmen think the defence and maintenance of peace consists in the poverty of the people, shows that they are far from the truth. For where will you find more wrangling, quarrelling, and brawling than among beggars? Who are more constantly agitating for change, than those who are discontented with their present condition? Who are

bolder to bring about a general uprising, trusting to profit by some windfall, than men who have nothing to lose by it? If a king were so lightly esteemed and so hated by his subjects, that he could not keep them in awe except by absolute oppression, by taxing them extortionately, and by reducing them to beggary, surely it were better for him to renounce his kingdom, than to hold it under conditions whereby the title of king is maintained, but the majesty is lost!

"It is beneath the dignity of a king to rule over beggars, but not over rich and wealthy men. Fabricius, with true courage, showed himself to be of this opinion when he asserted that he had rather be a ruler of rich men than be rich himself; and certainly for one man to live in wealth and pleasure, while all others smart and weep for it, is not the part of a king, but of a jailer!

"In short, he is a foolish physician who cannot cure his patient's complaint without causing him to contract another; and a king who cannot improve the conditions of his subjects, without taking from them their wealth, or the necessaries of life, must own that he does not know how to govern men. Let him rather amend his own life, and renounce unlawful pleasures and false pride: these are the chief vices that earn him the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him live on his own resources, harming no one, adjusting his expenses to his means. Let him restrain offenders and prevent vice; let him reduce the opportunities for crime by ruling his subjects well, not allowing wickedness to increase only to punish it afterwards. Do not let him be too hasty in enforcing laws which custom has revoked, especially such as are out of date and are no longer needed. Let him never,

by alleging a transgression of the law, exact fines and forfeits which no judge would award to a private person.

"On this head there is an excellent law among the Macarians who live not far from Utopia, and whose king is bound by a solemn oath on the day of his coronation never at any time to have in his treasury more than a thousand pounds in gold and silver. It is said that a very good king, who cared more for the wealth and welfare of his country than for enriching himself, made this law to prevent his successors from hoarding up so much money that their people became impoverished. He foresaw that this sum would suffice in case his own people should chance to rebel, and also in case of foreign wars, and he perceived that with such a reserve he would not be encouraged in predatory designs on other men's goods. By the

same means he provided the people with ample currency for the needs of their daily buying and selling; and since the king is obliged by law to circulate all the money that comes in, above the prescribed sum, all temptation to overtax his subjects is removed.

"A king like that would be feared by wrong-doers, and loved by good men! If I were to propound these and similar ideas to men wholly biased in contrary directions, do you not think I should have deaf hearers?"

"Deaf hearers, doubtless," said I, "and indeed, no wonder! But I can scarcely believe you would give such counsel with the certainty that it would not receive consideration. How can such strange information be of any use, or be driven into the heads of those whose minds are already filled with entirely conflicting convictions? Such doctrinaire philosophy forms a

pleasant subject of discussion in familiar conversation among friends, but in a king's council where serious matters are debated with full authority, it is surely out of order."

"That was exactly what I meant," replied Raphael, "when I said that with kings philosophy had no place."

"Indeed," said I, "such abstract philosophy, which recognizes no fitness, either of time or season, has not! But there is the philosophy of expediency which, as one might say, keeps to her own stage, and plays her part upon it with due recognition of the fitness and harmony of the scene. This is the kind of philosophy you should use under such circumstances. While a comedy of Plautus is being played, and the slaves are trifling among themselves, if you suddenly come upon the stage in philosopher's apparel, and rehearse from 'Octavia' the part

where Seneca disputes with Nero,—surely you had better have played the dumb person than a part so inappropriate to the time or place, and to have made such a tragi-comedy and hodge-podge! By introducing incongruous thoughts you mar the action of the play in progress, even though the material that you contribute may be superior. Whatever part you have undertaken, play that as well as you can and make the best of it; but do not disturb and upset the whole action of the play because another and merrier part comes to your remembrance!

"And so it is with affairs of state, and in the council chambers of kings and princes. If false opinions and evil tendencies cannot be utterly uprooted, if you cannot remedy vices which custom has confirmed, you must not on that account neglect the interests of the state; you

must not abandon the ship in a tempest, because you cannot control the winds! You must not try to inculcate strange ideas, when you know they will not be entertained by those who hold entirely contrary opinions. But you must diplomatically endeavour to manipulate things cleverly so as to attain your purpose, and where you cannot accomplish all the good you desire, use your influence to mitigate the evil. Everything will not be perfect until all men are good,—and that, I think, will not be for many a long year!"

"By such means," said he, "nothing would be accomplished; while I was endeavouring to cure the madness of others I should become as mad as they. If I am to speak the truth, I must needs speak it! If I am to speak insincerely, whether that is a philosopher's part or not, I cannot tell,—but it is not my part! But if such

information as I should supply would annoy them, at any rate I cannot see why it should appear strange or newfangled! On the other hand, were I to speak of such theories as Plato puts forward in his 'Republic,' or as the Utopians realize in theirs, they might seem out of place, for among us everyone's property is his private possession, and with them all property is common.

"But what is there in what I have told you that might not fitly be discussed anywhere? To those who are thoroughly determined to run headlong the opposite way, it will never be acceptable, because it recalls them to a sense of their danger. But if the mention of vicious customs be prohibited as out of place in discussion of affairs of state, Christian people must be taught to disregard the very things which Christ commanded us to honour; for those things

which He whispered in the ears of His disciples, He commanded should be proclaimed from the house-tops. Yet most of Christ's teachings differ even more widely from the customs and opinions of the world nowadays, than anything in my narration did. But the clergy, sly and wily men, following your advice of expediency, I suppose, and seeing that people were quite willing to order their way of life in accordance with Christ's laws, distorted His doctrine to their ends, and adapted it to man's various lower inclinations in order that they might seem to coincide. I cannot see what good they have done, except that people can do wrong with greater impunity.

"And I should do no better as king's counsellor. Either I should disagree with them, and then I might as well have said nothing; or else I should agree with them, and, as Mitio says

in Terence, help to further their madness. I cannot see what purpose is served by that crafty wile and subtle artifice of expediency which you would have me adopt! A king's council is no place for compromise; there, forsooth, wrong-headed policies must be openly supported and bad laws must be approved; whoever only half-heartedly upholds these things will be considered worse than a spy,—indeed almost a traitor!

"A man will find no opportunity of doing good in the company of those who would rather pervert a good man than reform themselves. Either their bad company will infect him, or if he remain good and innocent, their wickedness and folly will be imputed to him and laid upon his shoulders. Plato showed by an apt simile why wise men refrain from interfering in the government of a state. They see the people

swarming out into the streets daily, getting wet to the skin by the rain, and yet cannot induce them to stay at home and keep dry; and they know well that even if they themselves went out to try to persuade them to go in, they would not succeed, and that they would get wet into the bargain. So they stay safe at home, seeing that they cannot prevent others from making fools of themselves!

"It is my candid opinion, Master More, that it would be difficult—if not impossible—to govern a state justly and make it prosperous, where private ownership prevails and property is paramount. Unless, of course, you can conceive it possible that justice should flourish where all things are in the hands of crooked men, or that general prosperity should exist where everything is divided amongst a few,—with those few leading not very worthy lives,

and the rest living miserably, wretchedly, and in beggary?

"On the other hand, I recall the wise and just constitution of the Utopians, where things are so well administered, and by means of very few laws; where character is held in esteem, and yet everything is common property and everyone has abundance. Then with such conditions I compare those of other nations, who are always making new laws, though none of them seem sufficiently equipped with laws, and where property is privately owned. In view of such experiences, I agree with Plato when he declined to attempt to make laws for those who refused to agree in the first place to absolute equality of rights. The Sage saw clearly that the one and only way to prosperity in a community lay in the establishment of equality in essential commodities, which cannot possibly

be effected where every man's goods are his own property. When each one, on some pretext or other, tries to snatch as much as he can for himself, and the few who succeed divide among themselves the whole wealth of the nation,—no matter how abundant that wealth may be,—the rest of the people are bound to be left in poverty. And it generally happens that the labouring classes are more worthy to enjoy wealth than the present owners; because rich men are apt to be covetous, crafty, and unproductive, but the lowly and simple poor are, by their daily labour, more serviceable to the state than they are to themselves.

"Thus I am convinced that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor perfect well-being prevail, unless private ownership is abandoned. As long as it continues, the heavy burden of poverty will remain upon the most

worthy class, and although I grant that it may be somewhat eased, I utterly deny that it can be wholly abolished. For even if it were decreed that no one might possess above a certain allotment of ground, or accumulate more than a prescribed sum of money; that the king should not be too powerful, nor the people too wealthy; that official positions should not be obtained by undue influence and bribes, that they should neither be bought nor sold, and positions which ought to have been filled by wise men given to rich men; that officials should not be at any expense in the discharge of their duties, and thus be tempted to hoard up money by fraud and plunder to offset their expenses: by such laws these evils might be mitigated, just as sick people who are past cure may be kept alive for a time by careful nursing. But as long as every one is master of his own, it is not

to be hoped that a final cure can be effected, because nothing can be given to one, unless it is taken from another."

"But I am of contrary opinion," I replied, "for I believe that a nation can never be prosperous where everything is common property. How can there be abundance of essential commodities or of anything, if everyone ceases to labour? He who hopes to profit by another man's work rather than his own, becomes slothful; and when the nation is pinched with poverty and no one can legally defend what he has got with the toil of his own hands, will it not result in continual violence and bloodshed? I cannot imagine the effect that would be produced if the authority of the magistrates should be abolished,—or what corresponding authority could be set up in a nation where all classes are equal."

"I do not wonder," said Raphael, "that you are of this opinion. You have in your mind either a very false conception of the idea, or no idea at all of the true significance and practical application of this theory. But if you had been with me in Utopia, and had seen their customs and laws as I did, living there five years and more,—nor would I ever have left except to make their constitution known here,—you would doubtless grant that you had never seen a nation so well governed."

"Surely," remarked Peter Giles, "you will hardly ask us to believe that there is better law and order in that new land than there is in our own countries? There are good wits here as well as there, and I think our constitutions must be older than theirs, and long experience must have discovered many things beneficial to life, besides others that have been found by chance

and that no intelligence could ever have devised."

"As to the comparative ages of the states," said he, "you could judge better if you had read the histories and chronicles of their land. If we may believe them, they had cities before our countries were inhabited, and whatever has been devised by intelligent minds, or discovered by chance, might have been found there as well as here. But I think that even if we could claim to excel in intellect, they far surpass us in study, in toil, and in assiduous endeavour. As their chronicles testify, before our arrival there they had only heard of us, whom they call the ultra-equinoctials, once before about 1,200 years ago, when some ship was lost near the Island of Utopia, driven there by a storm. Some Romans and Egyptians were cast ashore, who never went away again. Mark now how they

profited by this opportunity, through application and perseverance. There was no craft nor science within the Roman Empire from which they could derive any benefit, but they acquired it from these strangers. The foreigners themselves thrived so greatly that they never left the country, and if a similar occurrence had ever brought any Utopians to our shores it had been quite forgotten—just as in time to come, perhaps it will be forgotten that I was ever there. They learned from us very speedily whatever could be of value to them; but it would take us long, I think, to assimilate anything that is better instituted among them than among us. In fact, this trait of acquisitiveness and open-mindedness is the chief reason why their state is more intelligently governed and more prosperous than ours, though we are not their inferiors either in intellect or wealth."

"My dear Master Raphael," said I, "I should be very much obliged if you would tell us all about the island. Do not be too brief, but describe fully their lands, rivers, and cities; the people, their manners, customs, and laws: in short everything that you think would interest us—that is, whatever we do not yet know."

"There is nothing," replied he, "that would give me greater pleasure, for it is all fresh in my mind; but it will require leisure."

"Then let us go in to dinner now," I suggested. "Afterwards we will dispose of the time at our pleasure."

"By all means," he agreed.

So we went in and dined, and when dinner was over we returned to the same place, and sat down upon the same bench, telling the servants to let no one disturb us. Then I and Peter Giles requested Raphael to fulfill his

promise. Seeing that we were anxious to listen to him, after he had sat still a little while, musing and thinking, he thus began.

PART II

The Second Part of the Narrative of Raphael Hythlodaye, Describing the Best Basis for a Commonwealth, and Containing an Account of Utopia With a Complete Explanation of the Constitution and Laws of the Island

TOPOGRAPHY OF UTOPIA

The Island of Utopia is two hundred miles across the middle, where it is broadest, and maintains the same breadth throughout, except where it narrows a little at both ends. In shape the island is curved like a new moon, and has a

coast line five hundred miles long. Between the two horns of the moon the sea runs in, dividing them by about eleven miles, and forming a large bay sheltered by the land on all sides, and almost as calm as an inland lake. In this bay, or harbour, in the concave curve of the land, vessels can make port very conveniently.

The channel between the two horns of the island is very treacherous with shallows and shelving rocks. At an equal distance between both horns a great rock stands up above the water,—no obstacle to navigation because it is in sight. Upon this rock is a strong, well-built tower held by a garrison. There are other rocks at the entrance, lying hidden under the water, which are therefore very dangerous. The navigating channels are known only to the Utopians, and it seldom happens that foreign ships can make the haven unless piloted by a Utopian.

In fact navigation here is so precarious that they themselves could scarcely enter without the aid of certain specified landmarks on the shores to direct them. By changing or obliterating these landmarks they could imperil the passage of hostile navies, however powerful they might be.

The convex coast of the island is also full of havens, but the places where landing is possible are so strongly fortified, both by nature and by human ingenuity, that a few defenders could drive back whole armies of invaders. The country was not thus surrounded by the sea originally, as is evident from the lie of the land, and as the inhabitants assert. But King Utopus, who conquered the land and gave it its name,—before his time it was called Abraxa,—upon first occupying it, had fifteen miles of high ground, forming an isthmus which joined it to other ter-

ritory, dug out, and so converted it into an island. He set to this task not only the inhabitants of the island, but also—so that there should be no soreness of feeling—his own soldiers, and the work, divided among such a number, was despatched with marvellous speed. In fact the inhabitants of the neighbouring state, who at first were inclined to jeer at such a preposterous undertaking, ceased their derision to wonder at his success and respect it.

It was Utopus who raised the people from barbarism to that perfection of civilization by virtue of which they now hold first place among all the nations of the world.

There are fifty-four cities, or shire towns, in the island, all possessing the same language, manners, institutions, and laws; they are all planned and built alike, as far as the sites allow. None of these cities is nearer than twenty-four

miles to another, or further than one day's journey on foot. From every city three old men, wise and experienced, come yearly to the capital, Amaurote, to deliberate upon the public affairs of the country. Amaurote stands just in the middle of the island and is therefore most convenient for delegates from all parts of the realm, and has on that account become the metropolis. The boundaries of the shires themselves are so laid out that none of the shire-towns has less than twenty miles clear ground in any direction, and some have much more. None of the cities wish to enlarge the boundaries of their shires unduly, for they look upon themselves as stewards rather than as owners of their lands.

Situated in different parts of the shires are houses and farms, well-built and efficiently provided with all sorts of farming equipment.

These houses are inhabited by citizens who come to live there in turns. No household or farm in the country has less than forty persons, men and women, besides two slaves, who are all under the authority of the master and mistress of the house—both people of mature age, experienced and reliable. Each thirty farms or families have one head-ruler or bailiff, who is called a philarch. Out of all these families, or farms, twenty persons are selected every year to go and live in the city, having previously lived two years in the country. The same number are sent from the city to take their places, and are instructed in farming by those who have been in the country a year, and who are therefore well versed in the life. These, next year, will teach others, and so on. This routine is instituted lest scarcity of food, or some such disaster, should arise owing to ignorance

in the raising of produce, as might readily happen if all those who were inexperienced in farming took their turn at it at the same time. This custom of annually changing those engaged on the land is universally enforced, so that no one shall be obliged, against his will, to follow for too long a period such an arduous and active occupation; but many take such pleasure in farm-life that they are granted a longer term.

The farming community cultivate the land, breed cattle, and provide wood, which they convey to the city by land or water as is most convenient. They rear numbers of poultry by a marvellous plan: they do not let the hens sit, but they hatch the eggs by keeping them at an even heat. As soon as the chickens are hatched they follow the men and women, instead of the hens. They breed a few very high-spirited horses, using them merely to train the youths

in riding and feats of arms. Oxen exclusively are used for farm work, though they admit that they are not as good as horses where a sudden spurt is needed; on the other hand they find that oxen will stand harder work and rougher usage, and are not subject to so many diseases, and are kept at much less expense; finally, they are good for meat when they are past work.

Corn is only sown for bread, as their beverages are either wine made from grapes, apples, or pears, or clear water. Mead made of honey or licorice soaked in water is a favourite drink.

They know exactly how much produce each city and shire will consume; but they sow far more corn and breed many more cattle than they need for their own use, distributing the surplus amongst the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities. Whatever manufactured products they lack in the country are fetched from

the city, where they can be obtained from the magistrates without payment. Every month many of the country people go into the city for the festival. When harvest draws near, the philarchs, or bailiffs, send word to the magistrates what number of harvest-men will be required from the city. They are all in readiness at the time fixed, and the work is generally finished in a single day, if fine.

THE CITIES, AND AMAUROTE, THE CAPITAL

As for their cities, to know one, is to know them all, they are so much alike. I will describe only one, and that shall be Amaurote, the noblest and most dignified, and acknowledged by all to be the capital as the council house is there. I, personally, am fonder of it than any other, because I lived there for five years.

The city of Amaurote stands upon the side of a low hill and is built almost four-square. One side of it stretches from a little beneath the top of the hill for two miles, until it reaches the river Anyder. The other side, which lies along the river bank, is somewhat longer. The river Anyder rises four and twenty miles above Amaurote out of a little spring, but being fed by

small brooks and rivers that run into it, and also by two somewhat larger streams, before it reaches the city it is half a mile wide, and increases in width until, forty miles beyond the city, it falls into the ocean. In the stretch that lies between the sea and the city, and even some miles above it, the stream ebbs and flows every six hours to a swift tide. When the sea flows in, it fills the Anyder with salt water for thirty miles, and drives back the fresh water, and even beyond that the water is somewhat salt; but further up still where the river runs past the city, it is quite fresh and pleasant. When the tide ebbs, the fresh water follows it almost to the sea.

There is a bridge built across the river, not of piles or timber, but of stonework, with imposing and substantial arches; it is placed at the further side of the city from the sea, to en-

able ships to sail right up to it without any hindrance. There is also another river which is not very important; it rises out of the same hill that Amaurote stands upon, and runs gently and pleasantly down a slope, through the city, into the Anyder. It rises a little outside the city boundary, so the Amaurotians have enclosed the spring with strong fences and palisades, joining it to the town, so that the water should not be stopped or diverted from its channel, or poisoned by enemies who might chance to surprise them. The water flows from here in various directions, through canals built of brick, to the lower parts of Amaurote. Where that cannot be done because for some reason the place is unsuitable for it, they collect the rain water into great cisterns, which serves them as well.

The town is surrounded with a high, strong

stone wall fortified with turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, deep, broad, and overgrown with bushes, briars, and thorns, lies on three sides of it; on the south side the river is defence enough.

The streets are handsome, planned conveniently for traffic, and sheltered against the winds. The houses are magnificent buildings; facing the street they stand joined together through the whole length of it, without any partition or separation. The streets are twenty feet broad. Behind the houses lie large gardens running the whole length of the street, and stretching to the back of the next street. Every house has two doors, one into the street, and a back door into the garden. These doors are made with two panels, never locked or bolted, and so easily opened that they will answer to the least pressure and shut again alone. Anyone can go in,

for there is nothing inside that is private. Every ten years they change their houses by drawing lots. They set great store by their gardens, in which are vines, all kinds of fruit, herbs, and flowers,—so pleasant, well filled, and neatly kept, I never saw gardens more fruitful or better cultivated anywhere.

Their pride in them is not only a matter of individual pleasure; they hold competitions between street and street, in the trimming, cultivating, and planning of their gardens, each taking pride in his own plot. It would be difficult to find any other interest from which the citizens derive so much benefit and pleasure. It appears that the first founder of the city thought more of these gardens than of anything else. They say that King Utopus himself thought out and drew the ground-plans of the city as it now stands, but he saw that one man's

life would not be long enough for the decoration and adornment of it, so he left that to posterity. Their chronicles, which they keep carefully written up, contain the history of 1,760 years from the conquest of the island. They record that the first houses were very low, homely cottages or poor shepherds' huts, built haphazard, of any rough timber that came to hand, with mud walls and sloping roofs thatched with straw. But now the houses are built in an imposing and splendid style of their own, three stories high. The outside walls are either of hard flint, plaster, or brick; and the inside walls are well strengthened with timber work. The roofs are plain and flat, covered with a kind of plaster that is cheap, yet so tempered that fire cannot harm or destroy it, and it withstands the violence of the weather better than lead. The windows are filled with glass, which is much

used there, as is also fine linen dipped in oil or amber, which has two advantages, viz., that it lets in more light, and keeps the wind out better.

THE MAGISTRATES

Each year every group of thirty families, or farms, chooses itself an officer, who in their old language is called a syphogrant, and by a newer name a philarch. Every ten philarchs, with their groups of thirty families, are under an officer who was once called the tranibore, now the chief philarch.

In regard to the election of the Prince, four candidates are nominated from the four sections of each city to stand for election. All the philarchs, two hundred in number, are then put on oath to appoint by secret ballot whichever of the four candidates (whom the people have previously nominated) they think most suitable. The Prince's office is life-long, unless he is deposed for suspicion of tyranny. The tranibores,

or chief philarchs, are elected yearly, but they do not change them needlessly. All other officers are elected for one year. The chief philarchs meet at the council house with the Prince every third day, and sometimes oftener, to discuss the affairs of the commonwealth. If there are any disputes among the commoners, which is seldom, they settle them. Two philarchs meet them in council, a fresh couple each day. It is enacted that nothing relating to the commonwealth shall be confirmed and ratified unless it has been discussed and debated in council for three days. To confer on affairs of state except in council or in the public places where the elections are held, is punishable by death. This statute was made to prevent the Prince and the chief philarchs from conspiring together to oppress the people or to change the constitution of the republic.

In this way all questions of great weight and importance are brought before the philarchs at the election house, and they in turn confer upon them with their groups of families. When they have deliberated upon them, they bring their suggestions before the shire council, and sometimes they are laid before the council of the whole island. It is the custom of the council not to argue any question the same day on which it is proposed, but to defer it until the next sitting, to guard against anyone speaking rashly at the moment, and afterwards trying to uphold an opinion thus hastily formed, instead of using his judgment for the general good of the state.

SCIENCES, CRAFTS, AND OCCUPATIONS

Farming is a science in which all participate. Both men and women are expert at it, all being instructed in it from their youth,—at school in its history and theory, and in the country in its practice. They play at it in their childhood, seeing it constantly carried on about them, and sometimes taking part in it for exercise. Besides farming each person is taught a trade as another means of livelihood. This is generally cloth-weaving in wool or flax, masonry, smith's or carpenter's trades. These are the only industries that occupy any number to speak of. Their clothes are similar throughout the island,—except that there is a difference between men's and women's, and between the

married and the unmarried,—and the fashion remains unchanged, suitable and attractive in appearance, convenient for active exercise, fit for both winter and summer. Every family makes its own clothes.

In the other trades the women as the weaker are put to the easier tasks, such as weaving wool and flax. As a rule a man is brought up in his father's trade, to which he often has a natural bent and inclination; but if he wishes to learn another, he is adopted by a family whose occupation suits him. In a case of this sort, not only his father but also the magistrates interest themselves to see that he is placed with a prudent, honest householder. If anyone having learned one trade desires to learn another, he is allowed to do so. When he has learned both he pursues which he likes, unless the city has more need of one than of the other.

The chief and almost the only duty of the philarchs is to see that no one is idle, that all ply their own trades industriously; but not from early in the morning till late in the evening so that they get worn out like beasts of burden. That would be worse than the wretched condition of slaves; nevertheless it is the lot of workmen and artificers almost everywhere except in Utopia.

The Utopians divide the day and night into twenty-four hours, working only three hours before noon, when they go to dinner; and after dinner when they have rested two hours they work three more, and then go to supper. About 8 o'clock in the evening they go to bed, sleeping for about eight hours. All the time not occupied in working, sleeping, and eating, they can spend as they like, not with the idea that they shall waste it in laziness or disorderly conduct,

but that they may use it well and industriously in some congenial occupation. It is the custom to have daily lectures early in the morning, at which only those who are occupied with intellectual pursuits are obliged to be present; though a great number of others, both men and women, go to hear lectures of different kinds according to their interests.

If anyone had rather spend his time upon his own occupation (as in the case of those who have not an intellectual bent), he is not prevented, but encouraged, since it is profitable to the state. After supper they play for an hour, in summer in their gardens, in winter in their common halls, where they dine and sup. There they have music and other wholesome recreation. Dice-playing and other mischievous games of the kind are unknown, but they play two games not unlike chess. One is the battle

of numbers, in which one number takes another; in the other game virtues fight with vices in battle array, illustrating what dissension there is among the vices, and with what presumption they unite to assail the virtues, with what power and strength they openly attack them, by what wiles and subtlety they secretly assault them; and again how the virtues resist and overcome the power of the vices, by what tactics they frustrate their purposes, and finally by what strategy victory is obtained.

But here you must guard against a misconception. Working only six hours a day, perhaps you may think they cannot produce enough of the necessaries of life. But, on the contrary, it is more than enough to provide abundance of necessities and comforts. You will realize that this is so, if you consider for a moment

how many people in this country are idle. First there are almost all the women, who are half the whole number; or, where the women are occupied, the men are idle. Besides this, think what a large body there is of idle priests and religious men, as they call them! To that add all men of means, specially all landed proprietors, commonly called gentlemen and noblemen. Then again there are their servants—I mean all that train of stout, bragging, rough bucklers; and all sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the pretence of some disease or illness. Altogether you will find that it is the labour of much fewer people than you thought which produces the necessary supplies for the whole nation.

Again, consider how few workers are providing necessities. Where money is plentiful many profitless and superfluous occupations

must needs be encouraged, to cater to profligate waste and wanton pleasures. If all the present workers were restricted to necessary occupations, at their present hours of labour there would be such over-production that prices would fall and the workers would be unable to maintain a livelihood. If to the number of those now profitably employed you add all those who are at present idle,—each of whom wastes more than two workers do,—you easily perceive how few hours daily would be required to produce the national store of necessities and comforts.

This is clearly illustrated in Utopia, where in a whole city, and the country or shire adjoining it, scarcely five hundred persons, except the sick and aged, are exempt from labour; among them are the philarchs who, though they are legally exempt, prefer to work for the sake of example, and those who, through the recommenda-

tion of the priests and the secret election of the philarchs, are perpetually exempt from labour in order to pursue intellectual occupations. But if anyone who joins the intellectual class proves below the standard required he has to return to the labouring class. Contrariwise, it often happens that a workman studies so industriously in his spare hours, and advances so well by his own diligence, that he is promoted from manual labour to the intellectual class. From this class the ambassadors, priests, and chief philarchs are chosen, and finally the Prince himself, who in their old tongue they call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Ademus.

The rest of the people being neither idle nor occupied in useless labour, it is easily seen in what a few hours much good work can be done. Even on necessary occupations they do not require to put in as much work as other nations.

In most countries many men's time is taken up constantly building and repairing houses that the unthrifty inheritor has allowed to fall into decay; and what he might have maintained at small cost, his successor is obliged to rebuild at great expense. Frequently the house that satisfied one wealthy man, another, more particular and fastidious, thinks not good enough, and therefore he neglects it and lets it fall into ruin, and then builds another in a different place. But among the Utopians where all things are kept in order, and the state maintains an even level of prosperity, it very seldom happens that they choose to build upon a new plot. They not only quickly attend to necessary repairs, but also try to foresee any that are likely to be needed. By this means their houses last long with little labour and small outlay, so that sometimes workmen in this industry have

almost nothing to do, and are set to hew timber and to square and trim up stones, so that when any building is required it can be carried out with greater promptitude.

Now in the making of clothes notice how few workmen they need. First, while the people work they dress simply in leather or skins that will last seven years. When they go out they throw on a cloak, which hides the other working apparel. These cloaks are the same colour throughout the whole island, namely, the natural colour of the wool. Consequently, not only do they use much less woollen cloth than in other countries, but the cost of making it is less. Linen is manufactured with far less labour, and is therefore more generally used, but the whiteness of linen and cleanliness of woollen cloth are the only points aimed at; the fineness of the thread is considered of no moment. In some

of our own countries four or five cloth suits of various colours, and as many silk coats, are not enough for one man—indeed, if he is fastidious and vain, ten are too few; while there in Utopia one garment will generally last a man for two years. Why should he desire more? If he had others he would not be more adequately protected against the cold, or present a better appearance!

As all are pursuing profitable trades, and few workers in each trade are sufficient for the production of abundance for all, ample time is found to devote to such occupations as the mending of the roads, at which gangs of men are set to work. Often when they have no such tasks to turn to, it is publicly proclaimed that they shall work fewer hours. The magistrates never employ the citizens against their will in unnecessary labour. The policy of the government

is, that whatever time can possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the state, the people shall use to cultivate and widen their minds. They believe that herein is to be found life's truest happiness.

THEIR MODE OF LIFE AND MUTUAL INTERCOURSE

I will now describe how the people live, what society and diversions they enjoy, and how the actual distribution of the commodities of life is effected.

First, the city consists of families, the families usually being inter-related. When the girls get married, at the legal age, they go to their husbands' houses; but the boys—in fact the whole male offspring—remain in their own family and are governed by the eldest father, unless he is in his dotage; then the next in age takes his place. But to prevent too great a decrease or increase of the prescribed number of the population (which is 6,000 for each city—besides those in the country), a law has been

passed that no family, or group, shall have fewer children of the age of about fourteen than ten, nor more than sixteen; for children under fourteen years old no number is prescribed. This number is easily averaged by transferring some from the larger families to families of smaller size. If it happens that the whole city should increase above the appointed number, they fill up the wants of other cities from the surplus. But supposing that the population throughout the whole island should exceed the due number, they choose certain citizens from every city and build a town under their own laws in the adjoining country, where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground. If the original inhabitants will cooperate and live with them, they are welcomed.

Thus living together, the outlanders easily adopt the established Utopian customs, to the

great benefit of the alien people. Through good government the ground which before was of no use to anyone is now fertile and productive enough for both nationalities. If, however, the first inhabitants of the land will not live with the settlers and be governed by their laws, they are driven outside the boundaries which have been claimed; if there is any further resistance, war is declared against them. The Utopians consider this is a just cause of war, because these people are endeavouring to retain possession of a piece of ground, hitherto vacant and useless, excluding others from the use and possession of it who by the law of nature ought to be nourished and supported from its resources.

If the population of a city decreases, and cannot be replenished without reducing the specified population of other cities, (which they say

has only occurred twice, after great plagues), they make up the required number by recalling citizens from the Colonial towns, preferring their distant towns to decay, rather than that any city in the island should be allowed to fall below the minimum.

Now I will describe the social structure and the intercourse of the people. The eldest, as I said, rules the family. The wives are subservient to their husbands, the children to their parents, and in short, the younger to the elder.

Every city is divided into four equal parts, or quarters. In the middle of every quarter there is a market place for all kinds of things. Here the manufactured products of every family are brought, to be collected into separate barns or store houses. The father of every family, or every householder, fetches from these stores

whatever he or his family needs, without paying any money, exchange, valuation, or pledge of any kind. For why should anything be denied him? There is abundance of everything, and there is no fear that anyone will ask for more of things that he knows are always to be had than he really requires for present needs. In all living creatures it is fear of want that causes covetousness and greed—or, as in man alone, pride, which glories in surpassing and excelling others in superfluity and empty ostentation. This is a failing that is unknown amongst the Utopians.

Next to the market I have described above stand the food markets, to which are brought not only all sorts of herbs, fruit, and bread, but also such fish, meat, and wildfowl as are used for human food. Before any kind of meat is accepted at the market it is cleaned and washed

in the running river outside the city by the slaves, at places appointed for the purpose. They do not permit any of the free population to kill the animals, because they think it blunts the tenderness and affection of human nature, and little by little those qualities would deteriorate in the nation at large.

They allow nothing that is filthy or noisome to be brought into the city, lest the air should be infected by the stench, and generate disease.

Every street has large halls, placed at equal distances from one another, and known by distinctive names. In these halls live the philarchs, and to each hall thirty families are appointed, fifteen from either side of the building. The stewards of the halls go to the food markets at a specified hour, where they receive supplies in proportion to the number of people in their halls.

But first of all provision is made for the sick in the hospitals. A little beyond the walls of each city there are four hospitals, so spacious and large that they look like four little towns. They are of immense proportions in order that whatever the number of the sick, they shall not be overcrowded and uncomfortable, and that infectious diseases may be isolated. These hospitals are so well appointed with everything that is essential, and so well managed under the constant attendance of clever physicians, that though no one is sent there against his will, there is no invalid in the whole city who would not rather be nursed there than at his own home.

When the stewards of the hospitals have received the food that the physicians have ordered, the rest is equally divided among the halls, except that the best is reserved for the

Prince, the bishop, the chief philarchs—and ambassadors and strangers, if there are any, which is very seldom; but when they are, they have certain houses appointed and prepared for them.

At dinner and supper time the whole Syphogranty, or ward, come to these halls summoned by the noise of a brazen trumpet, except those in the hospitals and those who remain in their own houses. No one is forbidden to fetch food from the stores so that he can dine at his own house, after the halls are provided for, for they know no one will do it without a reasonable cause, this being a point of honour. Besides it would be foolish to take the trouble to prepare a bad dinner at home, when they are welcome to a good and wholesome meal so near at hand in the hall.

In these halls all menial service, all labour and drudgery, all irksome toil, is done by slaves.

But the women of each family, in turn, are responsible for the preparation and cooking of the meals. The company sit at three tables or more, according to the number, the men upon the benches next the wall, the women opposite on the other side of the table, to enable them to go in and out of the nursery without disturbing anybody. The nurses sit alone with the babies, in a room specially assigned to them, and never without fire and clean water and cradles, where they can lay the infants down, or take them out of their swaddling clothes and keep them warm by the fire, or play with them. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless death or sickness prevent it; and when that happens, the wives of the philarchs find another nurse at once, which is easily done. Any that are able, gladly offer their services, for such sympathy is admired and the child that is nour-

ished always looks upon his nurse as his own natural mother.

The nurses take charge of all the children under the age of five; the other children, boys and girls below the marriage age, either serve at the tables or, if they are too young, stand quietly waiting for what is given them from the general tables. They have no separate table or meal.

The philarch and his wife sit at the middle of the high table, the place of honour, where they can see the whole company. That table stands across the top end of the hall, and with them sit two of the eldest citizens. At each table four form a mess. If there is a church in the ward, the priest and his wife sit with the philarch, as chief of the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next to them again, old men; and thus throughout the hall

those of about the same age sit together, and yet near those of different ages. This was arranged, they say, so that the wisdom and gravity of the elders might keep the younger ones from lax conversation and behaviour, since nothing can be done or spoken at table unnoticed. They are not served in regular order, beginning at the top of the table, but all the old men (whose places are specially marked) are served first, and then the rest in due course. The old men divide their dainties as they think best amongst the young ones on each side of them.

Thus the elders are not defrauded of due honour, and at the same time everyone is properly treated. They begin every dinner and supper by reading something on the subject of good manners and virtue; but it is short, so as not to overtax the patience of anyone. The elders hold interesting conversations, though

not too weighty or serious; nor do they monopolize the whole dinner time with tedious discourse, but encourage the younger men to talk, so that they may discover their individual intelligence and disposition, which generally reveals itself at the festive board.

Their dinners are very short but their suppers are somewhat longer, because after dinner there is work to be done but after supper they rest and sleep, which they think conducive to health and a good digestion. There is always music at supper time, and their banquets do not lack dainties. They burn sweet gums and spices, or perfumes and pleasant odours, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters; indeed they omit nothing that can help to cheer and divert the company. They are very much of the opinion that no kind of pleasure should be suppressed which in itself is harmless.

This is how they live together in the city. In the country those who live alone, far from any neighbours, dine and sup at home in their own houses. No family there goes short of any kind of food, since it is they who provide all the supplies.

MODE OF TRAVEL, FOREIGN TRADE, GOLD AND SILVER, EDUCATION, ETC.

If anyone wishes to visit friends living in another city, or to see the towns themselves, they easily obtain permission from the philarchs unless there is some good reason to the contrary. No one travels alone, but a company is formed, carrying the Prince's passports with them, which show that they have permission to take the journey and mentioning the day of their return. They are supplied with a wagon, and a slave to drive and take charge of the oxen. Unless they have women in their company they generally send the wagon home as a needless impediment. Though they take no supplies with them they lack nothing on the way,

for wherever they stop they are at home. When they remain more than one day in a place everyone takes up his own occupation, and is hospitably entertained by the workmen and associations of his trade.

If any one is found without leave or the Prince's passport outside the precincts of his city, he is brought back as a fugitive or runaway and is reprimanded and punished. If he is taken a second time, he is punished with slavery. If anyone likes to take a walk in the fields or country belonging to the city that he lives in, and obtains permission of the master and mistress of his family, he can do so. But wherever he goes, he is not provided with food until he has accomplished his morning's task, or as much work as is generally done before supper. Provided he observes this law he may go where he likes within the bounds of his own

city, for he is of the same use to the community whether he be in town or country. Thus you see how little facility they have for loitering or excuse for idleness.

There are neither wine-taverns, nor ale-houses, nor any secret opportunities of vice and wickedness, nor places for unlawful gatherings. Their whole lives are lived under the eyes of all their neighbours, so that they are bound to ply their accustomed labours honestly, or to recreate themselves with decent and innocent amusements.

These customs having been so long in use amongst the people, it necessarily follows that they have accumulated plentiful stores, and as they are all equal partners no one is poor or needy. By the council of Amaurote, to which, as I said, each city sends three men yearly, as

soon as the stores of every place are correctly estimated, the shortage of one city is provided for from the surplus of another, without either benefitting by the exchange—each freely gives and receives whatever stores are necessary. In fact the whole island is like one great family or household.

When the nation has made provision for itself (which they take to mean full provisions for two years, because of the uncertainty of the next year's supplies), they trade with other countries in all superfluous stores of grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, madder, purple dyes, skins, wax, tallow, leather, and livestock, bestowing one-seventh of it upon the poor of the country with which they happen to be trading, selling the remainder at reasonable prices. By this foreign trade they obtain for their own country not only plenty of gold and silver, but all

such things as they lack at home, which is almost entirely confined to iron. They have traded so long that they have greater supplies of these imported goods than would be expected; so now they are not particular whether they sell for ready money, or upon credit, the greater part remaining an outstanding debt. However, they never accept security of private individuals, but demand the guarantee of the government, drawn up in writing and signed. When the day of payment arrives the foreign government collects the amounts from the various private debtors, and pays the money into the treasury, using it until the Utopians, their creditors, demand it. The greater part is never demanded, however, because the Utopians do not think it right to take from others what is of no use to themselves. But in case they want to lend part of the money to another people, they collect the debt, or if it is required for war.

They keep in their treasury all they need for sudden emergencies, and specially for the hire of mercenaries at high wages. They always prefer to put foreigners in the field rather than their own countrymen, knowing that their enemies may often be bought or sold for money, or may be set by the ears by fomenting treason in their camp. For this reason they accumulate vast wealth, not hoarding it as treasure, but in such ways as I am really almost ashamed to mention for fear I should not be believed—particularly as I know how difficult it would have been for me to believe it, had I been told of it instead of having seen it with my own eyes.

The more a custom departs from the commonplace, the more difficult it is to believe. However, as all their other laws and customs differ so widely from ours, it is no wonder that

gold and silver are applied to uses as widely different. They have no need for the circulation of currency at home, so keep their gold and silver for possible contingencies, which may never materialize. In the meantime they value the precious metals only in proportion to the actual utility of the articles made from them. Anyone can see plainly how far less useful they are than iron, without which people can scarcely live nowadays, any more than without fire or water. But nature has assigned no use to gold and silver which makes them essential to us. It is the folly of men and the scarceness of the metals which have set them in high estimation. Nature, as a tender, loving mother, has arranged that the best and most necessary things shall be accessible to all—as the air, the water, the earth itself; and has removed far from us or hidden in the depths of

the earth things which may be a cause of vanity and vice. It was thought by the Utopians that if these metals should be treasured up in towers, it might be suspected (the common people often being full of foolish suspicions) that the Prince and the council intended by some artifice to deceive them and to profit by it themselves. Again, if they were to manufacture gold and silver plate, and such finely and artistically wrought articles, and then at any time they should need to break them up or melt them down for soldiers' wages, the people might be loth to part with things in which they had learned to take delight.

To remedy this they have found a means, which is as consistent with all their laws and customs as it is inconsistent with ours. With us gold is so carefully kept and so highly valued that, except to the wise, the Utopians' methods

of using it will seem incongruous and incredible. They eat and drink out of earthenware and glass vessels, which are conveniently and suitably made, but of very small value; but gold and silver they generally use for chamber utensils and other vessels that serve the lowest uses, both in their common halls and in every private house! Again of the same metals they make great chains, fetters, and gyves for the slaves.

Finally, whoever is degraded for any offence has rings of gold hung on his ears, rings of gold on his fingers, and chains of gold round his neck; and to crown all the head is bound with gold. Thus by all possible means, they endeavour to make the uses of gold and silver a slight and shame. Other nations find it as hard to part with these metals as they would with their own lives; but if all the Utopians' gold and silver were taken from them, no one would

think he had lost individually the worth of one farthing.

If by chance they find pearls by the sea, and diamonds and carbuncles in the rock, they cut and polish them, but they do not look for them. They put them on their babies, who, when quite young are fond and proud of such ornaments; but when they are a little older in years and discretion, finding that only children wear such toys and trifles, they are ashamed of them, and put them away without being bidden by their parents, just as our children when they get bigger discard their toys.

These laws and customs, so different from those of other nations, give rise to most curious ideas in their minds, as I saw illustrated in the case of the arrival at Amaurote of the ambassadors of the Anemolians.

These ambassadors came to Utopia while I

was there, to treat of important and weighty matters, so three citizens from every city were summoned to meet them. All the ambassadors from neighbouring countries, who had been before and knew the manners and customs of the Utopians, had discovered that gorgeous apparel was not held in honour,—silks were condemned, gold was a shame and reproach,—so they used to come in very simple array. But the Anemolians, knowing only by hearsay that they were all dressed alike, very simply and poorly, imagined it must be because they were not wealthy enough to have better clothes, and being more proud than wise, they determined to rival the gods in the gorgeousness of their apparel, and to dazzle the eyes of the poor silly Utopians with bright, glittering costumes. So there came three ambassadors, with one hundred servants, all clothed in varied colours, most of them

in silks, the ambassadors themselves (in their own country they were noblemen) in cloth of gold, with gold earrings, gold rings on their fingers, brooches and aglets of gold upon their caps, which also glittered with pearls and precious stones: in short, they were adorned with all such things as among the Utopians were used to brand slaves, or for children to play with. It would have done a man's heart good to see how proudly the ambassadors' train displayed their peacock feathers, how they made much of their painted scabbards, and how haughtily they paraded themselves when they compared their gallant appearance with the plain garments of the Utopians. All the people swarmed out into the streets, and it was no less amusing to see how in their way they too were deceived, and how far the Anemolians came from producing the effect that they had intended!

In the eyes of all the Utopians, except the very few who had travelled in other countries, all that gorgeous display seemed to imply a slight; indeed they reverently saluted the lowliest and most abject of the suite as lords, passing over the ambassadors without honour, thinking from their golden chains that they were slaves. You should have seen the children, too, who were at an age when they had discarded their pearls and precious stones, seeing the jewels upon the ambassadors' caps, point them out to their mothers, and nudge them, saying, "Look, mother, how great a lubber still wears pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child!" And the mother would reply—and in good earnest—"Peace son, I think he is one of the ambassadors' fools!"

Again some of the Utopians complained that the gold chains they wore were no use, being

so delicate and weak that a slave could easily break them, or so loose that he could take them off when he pleased and run away. But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two and saw such abundance of gold prized so lightly,—in fact held in no less reproach than it was held in honour with them,—and more gold in the gyves and chains of one fugitive slave than in all the costly ornaments of the three of them put together, their pride began to abate, and for very shame they discarded all the gorgeous array they had been so proud of, especially when they had held friendly conversation with the Utopians and came to understand their customs and opinions.

The Utopians wonder at any one being so foolish as to delight in the glittering of a little trifling stone, who can behold the brightness of the stars or the sun itself; or that any man is

so mad as to imagine himself the nobler for wearing a finer thread of wool, which however fine it is, came off the back of a sheep who all the time she wore it was still nothing but a sheep! They cannot understand, either, why gold, which is comparatively useless, is so highly esteemed among all nations that a man himself is often valued less. Thus it follows that a lumpish blockheaded churl, who has no more wit than an ass, and is as full of stubbornness and folly, may come to have many wise and good men in his power, only because he has great riches! If fortune should deprive him of them, and all were given to the lowest slave and most abject drivel of his household through some subtle craft or wile of the law (which no less than fortune exalts the low and debases the high), he would soon have to enter the service of his servant, into the bargain. But they are

much more disgusted and surprised at the folly of those who, though they are not in debt to rich men, yet accord them honour scarcely short of divine, merely because they are rich, and knowing them to be such niggardly penny-fathers that as long as they live they will not part with one farthing of their wealth!

These opinions have been inculcated partly by education, partly by up-bringing in a commonwealth whose laws and customs are entirely foreign to such folly, and partly through good literature. Yet, there are not many in each city who are exempt from all labour to devote themselves to learning,—such, for instance as from their childhood have shown a singular aptitude for study. They all receive instruction in childhood, however; and most of the people, both men and women, spend their

spare hours in study. They are taught in their native tongue, which is rich in words and pleasant to the ear, and lends itself to accurate expression of thought. Most of the nations in that hemisphere use the same language, though it varies a little in the different countries; but among the Utopians it is finest and purest.

The philosophers who are famous in our part of the world, were unknown to them before our arrival. In spite of which, in music, logic, arithmetic and geometry, they have found out in their own way all that our ancient authorities taught. But though they almost equal our old writers, our new logicians have far surpassed them in subtle inventions! For they have not devised a single one of those rules of restriction, amplification, and supposition in logic, which our scholars here learn everywhere! Why, they had not even mastered the

second intention, and not one of them could see man in the abstract, as they call it—even though he be bigger than any giant!

In astronomy they are very expert and clever, and they have invented various instruments which exactly register the motions of the sun, moon, and the stars of their hemisphere. Of the mythology of the constellations they know nothing, nor of divination.

They have learned by long use and observation to foretell rains, winds, and other signs of disturbance in the weather. As to the causes of all these things, of the ebbing and flowing and saltness of the sea, and of the origin and nature of heaven and of the world, they partly hold the same opinion as our old philosophers, and, like them, partly disagree. In ethics their opinions agree with ours; and they deliberate upon the qualities of the soul, of the body, and

of fate, and whether the attribute of goodness is applicable to all, or only to the qualities of the soul. They have arguments about virtue and pleasure; but the principal question is, in what thing, or things, the felicity of man consists. In this point they seem very much inclined to share the opinion of those who defend pleasure, and conclude that therein lies all, or the chief part, of man's happiness. They bring their grave, sharp, bitter, and rigorous religion to bear upon this knotty and delicate question. In disputing of felicity or blessedness, they always associate with the philosophical arguments certain religious principles, without which they think that the investigation of true felicity must be weak and partial. These principles are as follows: That the soul is immortal, and by the bountiful goodness of God destined to felicity;—that rewards are ordained after this

life for our virtues and good deeds, and punishments for our evil deeds. Though these principles belong to religion they think it right that they should be believed and granted in reason. And were they disproved, they judge that undoubtedly no one would be so foolish as not instinctively to do all in his power to obtain pleasure somehow, only seeing to it that a less pleasure should not become a hindrance to a greater; or that a pleasure should not be won which would bring after it displeasure, grief, and sorrow. It is considered madness to profess such austere virtue as banishes the pleasure of life, and willingly suffers grief without any hope of gain from so doing. For what sense is there in passing all one's life without pleasure, and in misery, if there is no reward after death? They by no means think felicity exists in all kinds of pleasure, but only in those

which are good and reputable, and to which our nature is allured and drawn as to perfect blessedness.

They define virtue as life lived according to nature, and thus ordained by God; and he follows the law of nature who is ruled by reason. Further, reason principally kindles in man the love and veneration of the Divine Majesty, by whose goodness we exist, and can attain felicity. Secondly, nature urges us to lead a life free from care, in joy and mirth, and moves us to help others to obtain and enjoy the same lot. Never was there an earnest follower of virtue and hater of pleasure, who did not, while he admonished you to labours, watchings, and fastings, also exhort you to ease and relieve the wants and miseries of others to the utmost of your power, praising such acts as deeds of humanity and pity. If it is inherent in humanity

to endeavour to bring health and comfort to man, and especially to mitigate the grief of others by easing the burdens of life and restoring them to joy and pleasure, may it not be urged that nature stimulates each to do the same for himself? For if a joyful life is evil, no one must be helped to attain joy, but rather, as far as possible, should be prevented from it, as unhealthy and harmful; or, if you are in duty bound to secure joy for others, why not equally for yourself, to whom as much of the joy of life is due as to your fellows? Nature commands you to be good and gentle to others, but she does not command you to be cruel and harsh to yourself. Therefore, they say, even nature prescribes a joyful life for us,—that is to say pleasure,—as the end and object of all our striving.

Nature does not favour individuals, but cares for all mankind equally, and commands each of

us to beware lest in seeking our own pleasure we cause pain to others. The opinion of the Utopians is that covenants and bargains made between private individuals ought to be faithfully fulfilled and observed. Similarly they hold that the laws, whether passed by a good prince or constituted by the common consent of the people, relating to the amenities of life, should be upheld for public good as well as personal advantage.

This is your duty, if you have any reverence or natural loyalty and affection for your native country. But to debar another man from pleasure while you procure your own is clearly wrong; on the contrary to deny yourself in order to give to others is an act of humanity and gentleness, by which you never lose as much as you gain. You are rewarded by the knowledge of the good deed, and remembrance of the

gratitude and good-will of those who benefit by it, which bring you more pleasure than the object which you denied yourself could ever have done.

Finally, God rewards our generosity to others with great and everlasting joy. After carefully considering the matter, they believe that the end and object of all our actions should be true pleasure, and that virtue will be valued in proportion to the pleasure it generates.

Pleasure they call every condition or state of the body or mind in which there is natural delight. Appetite they rightly ascribe to nature. The senses, in reason, desire whatever is naturally pleasant, if it may be had without wrong and injury, or interference with a greater pleasure, or without causing suffering. Those things that human imagination has ranked with pleasure (although they are contrary to nature) they

believe are merely hindrances to true felicity. If a man has once tasted them his mind is possessed of a false opinion of pleasure, and there is no place left for true and natural delights.

There are many things which, though they contain no true pleasure,—many of them even grief and sorrow,—through the false and malicious allurements of perverted desires are considered rare pleasures, and counted among the chief aims of life. Amongst these are such false pleasures as I spoke of before. When people imagine that the better gowns they wear the better they themselves are, they doubly err; first, in the value of their gowns, and secondly in the value of themselves. In valuing a garment for its usefulness, why should wool of finer thread be thought better than wool of coarser thread? They forget the law of nature, and estimate their own value in proportion to

the fineness of their clothes. The honour which they would not expect if dressed in coarse clothes, they require as a duty in recognition of their finer clothes, and are displeased if they are passed by without signs of deference. Is it not ridiculous to take a pride in such empty show of respect? What natural and true pleasure can there be in the sight of another man's bare head and bowed knees? Will it ease the pain of your knees, or soothe the aching of your head?

The aristocracy rejoice much in another imaginary pleasure, viz.: their good fortune to have come of ancestors who for many years have been rich, especially in land and property, —indeed nowadays nobility is rich in nothing else,—and though these ancestors may not have left them one foot of land, or may have played ducks and drakes with it, yet their descendants think themselves noble nevertheless.

Equally vain are those who take extravagant delight in gems and precious stones, and think themselves almost gods if they happen to get a fine specimen of the kind just then in fashion at home,—the same kind of gem not being equally valuable in all countries at the same time. Probably they will buy it without the gold setting, and even make the owner swear that he will warrant it to be a true stone, for fear he should palm off a counterfeit upon them. But why should there not be as much pleasure in a sham stone, so well made that you cannot discern it from a genuine one? They ought to be of equal pleasure-giving value to you,—as they would be to a blind man!

And what shall I say of misers who keep superfluous riches, and take delight in merely looking at them and not in the use of them! Is that true pleasure, or are they deceived by

a false one? Or what of others again, who bury their gold, and will not use it—perhaps will never even see it again? While they imagine that they are taking every precaution not to lose it, they do most assuredly lose it, in the fullest sense, by hiding it in the ground and depriving themselves and others of its use! But you, when you have hidden your treasure, are freed of the care of it, and can be happy. If the treasure should chance to be stolen, and ten years later you die ignorant of the theft, all that ten years after the money was stolen, what did it matter to you whether it had been taken or not? It was of the same value to you in either case.

They consider dice-playing and hunting and hawking on a par with these foolish diversions, knowing them only by hearsay, not by use. What pleasure can there be in throwing dice

upon a table? Even if there were any pleasure in it to begin with, it would become wearisome by constant repetition! And what delight can there be in the barking and howling of dogs, or in watching a dog following a hare, any more than a dog following a dog? For the same thing happens in both cases, that is to say the dog runs,—if the pleasure lies in that! But if the hope of slaughter and tearing the animal in pieces is the object, should you not rather be moved to pity to see a poor innocent hare done to death by a dog—the weaker by the stronger, the timid by the fierce, the innocent by the cruel and unmerciful? All such hunting is unworthy of free and responsible men, and the Utopians have relegated it to their butchers, to which trade they appoint slaves only. They consider hunting the lowest and vilest form of butchery; the other kinds are more profitable

and honest, as then they only kill animals to meet a necessary demand; but the hunter seeks nothing but pleasure in the slaughter and murder of the poor creatures! This pleasure in death they consider a brutal instinct, and in man denotes a cruel quality of mind, which in the long run becomes downright cruelty. Such pursuits as these are innumerable, and though mistaken by common people for pleasure, the Utopians plainly perceive that they have no true affinity to pleasure. They seem to delight the lowest senses, but their opinion is not altered; they are not true, natural pleasures. No one's mere judgment, depraved and corrupted by sickness or bad habits, can change the essential nature of pleasure, any more than it can change the nature of other things.

They recognize several different kinds of true pleasure; some they attribute to the soul, and

some to the body. To the soul they ascribe intelligence, and the delectation that comes from the contemplation of the truth. Akin to this is the pleasant remembrance of a good life passed. The pleasure of the body they divide into two kinds. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceived, as when we refresh those parts which our natural heat dries up—i. e., the pleasure of eating and drinking. Other pleasures, again, are neither the result of satisfying an appetite nor relieving a pain, but nevertheless appeal to our senses with a certain effect, and stimulate, while they give, delight, e. g., the pleasure of listening to music. The second kind of bodily pleasure consists, according to the Utopians, merely in the sound and healthy state of the body, undisturbed by grief or illness. This condition is in itself delectable. It may not be so plain and manifest to the

senses as the greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet nevertheless many consider it the highest pleasure. All the Utopians grant it to be a sovereign pleasure, and, as one might say, the foundation of all pleasures, for it alone is able to make life enjoyable, and once taken away there would be no pleasure left in life. To be without sadness while without health, is insensibility and not pleasure.

The Utopians, who earnestly discussed this question, long ago rejected and condemned the opinion of those who said that the mere passive condition of good health ought not to be counted a pleasure, because it cannot be sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion. Sickness is accompanied by sadness, which is as inimical to pleasure as sickness is to health; why then should not pleasure lie in the mere possession of health? It does not matter

whether you say that sickness is sadness, or that in sickness there is sadness; or whether health is a pleasure itself, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat. It still follows that those who are in perfect health cannot be without pleasure. When we eat, health which began to be impaired, fights, by the help of food, against hunger. In this fight health, little by little, gets the upper hand, and this process ministers to that pleasure which refreshes us. Health, therefore, is happy in the conflict, and why should it not be joyful when it has attained the victory? As soon as it has recovered its pristine strength, which was the only thing it fought for, why should it be troubled? Will it not rather recognize and welcome its well-being and goodness? So they think it untrue to say that health cannot be felt. What waking man does not feel himself in health—

unless he is not so? Is there anyone so insensible and lethargic that he will not grant that health is acceptable and delectable? And what is delectation but pleasure under another name!

They give precedence to the pleasures of the mind. These they consider the greatest of all, and to be cultivated mainly by the exercise of virtue and the consciousness of a good life. Of the bodily pleasures they give pre-eminence to health. The delight of eating and drinking, and such acts, they consider are pleasures much to be desired, but only for health's sake, because they prevent sickness stealing on unnoticed. Just as it is wiser to avoid sickness so that you may not stand in need of medicine, and to evade grief rather than to require comfort, so it is much better not to be deprived of this kind of pleasure than to have to be eased of the corresponding sadness. If any one finds his chief hap-

piness in the more transitory bodily pleasures his life will be passed in continual hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching, and rubbing, which would be not only a shameful but a miserable existence. These are the basest pleasures, impure and imperfect, and only come accompanied by their respective re-actions: to the pleasure of eating is related the pain of hunger, and so on, and of the two the pain is the more vehement and of longer duration; it begins before the pleasure, and does not end until the pleasure dies with it. They think such pleasures ought not to be indulged in except as necessities; but as such they delight in them, and thankfully acknowledge the love of mother nature who provides pleasurable enjoyment for her children in the necessary practice of eating and drinking. How wretched and miserable our life would be, if these daily wants of hunger

and thirst could not be dismissed without bitter potions and sour medicines—as other diseases are, with which we are less often troubled. With the Utopians beauty, strength, and activity rank high as peculiar gifts of nature. Those pleasures that are experienced by the ears, the eyes, the nose, which nature has granted only to man—(no other living creature appreciates the fairness and beauty of the world, or has pleasure in scents except on the score of finding food, or notices the concordance or discordance of sounds and tunes)—such pleasures, I say, they account some of the chief joys of life.

In bodily as in mental pleasures they guard against permitting the lesser to stand in the way of the greater. To despise beauty, to waste bodily strength, to turn nimbleness into slovenliness, to consume and enfeeble the body with fasting, to injure the health and to reject the

pleasant actions of nature, they think is madness unless it is done with a fervent wish to procure the well-being of others, or the common good, or in hope of a greater pleasure at God's hand. But if it is in quest of a vain shadow of virtue and for the well-being and profit of no one, but as self-punishment or in order to learn to suffer with courage some adversity which perchance may never come—this is considered proof that a man is cruelly minded towards himself, and unkind towards human nature, so disdaining to be in her debt that he renounces and refuses all her blessings.

Such is their opinion and judgment of pleasure and virtue. They believe that there cannot be found a truer than this by the aid of man's reason, unless a wiser is inspired from heaven. Whether they judge wisely or not, time will not suffer to discuss, nor is it necessary, for I have

undertaken to explain and declare their laws and ordinances, not to defend them. But this I believe, however good or bad their ideas are, there is no place in the world possessing more excellent people or a more flourishing commonwealth. Physically they are light and quick of body, full of activity and nimbleness, and stronger than would be imagined from their stature,—though they are not very short. Their soil is not particularly fruitful nor their climate specially healthful, but they are so temperate in diet and cultivate their ground with such perseverance, that no country has greater increase of population or abundance of corn and cattle, nor do any people enjoy longer life with less disease.

In Utopia anyone can see put into practice, not only those means to which farmers in other countries resort to remedy the barrenness of

the ground, but whole woods will be transplanted from one place to another, to facilitate transport, so that the timber may be nearer to the sea or rivers or cities, and because it is less trouble to move grain a distance by land than wood.

Intellectually the people are quick and fine-witted; they have gentle manners; they are happy, and delight in their peaceful lives, and when necessary are able to endure strenuous labour, though they are not naturally fond of it; but they never weary of studying and of cultivating their minds.

When they heard me talk of Greek culture and learning (there being nothing in Latin that I thought they would care for, except the historians and poets), they implored me to teach them the language and its literature. I began to read to them, at first more because I did not

like to refuse the request than in the hope that they would profit by it. But when I had progressed a little, I perceived that my labour would not be in vain. They began to make their letters so easily, to learn by heart so quickly, to pronounce the words so plainly, and to repeat them so accurately, that I was astonished, although I knew that most of them were the cleverest men chosen from the intellectual class, who had voluntarily and by special command of the council, undertaken to learn the language. In less than three years there was nothing in Greek that they were deficient in, and they were able to read good authors without any aid, if the texts were correct.

I think they took to the language so easily because it is allied to their own. I believe the nation took their origin from the Greeks, because their speech, in many respects not unlike

Persian, still shows its affinity to Greek in the names of their cities and official titles. When I started on my fourth voyage I took with me instead of merchandise a parcel of books, because I intended never to return,—or not for a long time. So I was able to supply them with most of Plato's works, most of Aristotle's, also Theophrastus on Plants, but I am sorry to say it was imperfect in places; while we were on board ship a marmoset found the book, which had been negligently laid by, and in playing with it tore out some leaves and destroyed them. For grammar they have only Lascaris; Theodorus I had not with me, nor a dictionary; but I had Hesichius and Dioscorides. They set great store by Plutarch's books, and were delighted with Lucian's merry jests and fancies. Of the poets they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripedes, and Sophocles, in Aldus

small print. Of the historians they have Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. My companion, Tricius Apinatus, brought some medical books with him, some minor works of Hippocrates, and Galenes' "Microtechne." The latter book they valued greatly, for though there is scarcely any nation under heaven that has less need of medicine than they, the science s nowhere held in greater honour; they consider it among the best and most useful branches of knowledge.

They investigate the secrets of nature by the help of this science in the belief that they not only derive benefit from it, but that they earn the favour of its Author and Maker. According to their ideas the Creator has provided this wonderful and gorgeous frame-work of the world for man to possess with gratitude, he alone being given the capacity to understand the ex-

cellence of so great a scheme. They say God bears more good-will and love to one who diligently searches into His work, and wonders and reverences it, than to one, who like a mere beast without intellect or reason and without sense or feeling, has no appreciation for such a wonderful and stupendous spectacle. The minds of the Utopians, educated and cultured, are remarkably apt in devising inventions which add to the convenience and comfort of life. Two accomplishments they have to thank us for, however; the science of printing and the art of paper making—and yet perhaps it was due even more to themselves than to us.

When we showed them the books of Aldus, printed upon paper, and told them how paper was made, and explained the art of engraving letters, speaking in general terms rather than in detail—for none of us knew either per-

fectly—they very cleverly pieced together the whole process of printing books. Before, they had written only on skins, barks of trees, and reeds; after we had instructed them, they attempted to make paper and to print from type. At first it was not completely successful, but by constant effort they accomplished it, and have progressed so well that if they had copies of the Greek authors they would not lack books. They had only those volumes that I enumerated before, but now they have multiplied them by printing many thousand copies of them.

Whoever visits the land, and possesses talent or is an experienced traveller and acquainted with many countries, is entertained hospitably, and thus they made us very welcome. They delight to hear what is done abroad, for very few merchantmen call there, as there is nothing

to trade in except iron in exchange for gold and silver. The Utopians prefer to ship their own exports, because it gives them the opportunity of getting to know the countries on every side of them, and keeps them practiced in navigation.

SLAVERY, THE SICK, MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, LAWS, AND FOREIGN ALLIANCES

Those taken prisoner by the Utopians in battle are not made slaves unless they themselves fought against them, nor are the children of slaves, nor prisoners from foreign countries even if they were slaves at home. But their own people when convicted of heinous offences are punished with slavery, as also are foreigners who have been condemned to death by their own courts for serious crimes. It is the latter class from which they draw the greater number of their slaves, and they bring them from abroad, sometimes paying very little for them, but generally getting them gratuitously. These foreign slaves they keep continually at work,

shackled; but their own criminals they treat more severely, considering them more desperate characters and deserving greater punishment, because, though so well brought up under such excellent laws, they could not keep straight even then.

Finally, they have another class of slaves, viz., any paupers or poor labourers from other countries who choose of their own free will to live as slaves among them. These they treat fairly and kindly and almost as well as their own free citizens, except that they expect rather more work from them, which is no hardship as they are accustomed to it. If any of them wish to return to their own country, which seldom happens, they do not detain them against their will nor send them back empty handed.

The sick, as I have already said, are tended

with great care, and provided with medicine, good diet, and everything which can restore them to health. Those afflicted with incurable diseases they try to comfort by sitting and talking to them, and in short by giving them all the help they possibly can. If the disease is not only incurable but very painful, the priests and magistrates reason with the patient, and try to persuade him that as he is not able to fulfill the duties of life, and in his present state of a living death is a burden to himself and others, he should determine to suffer no longer; and as his life is nothing but a torment he should not be unwilling to die, but should be glad to despatch himself from further suffering and free himself from his prison, or rack, of torture—or should allow himself to be released from it by others. This would be a wise decision on his part since he loses nothing by death,

and ends his pain. In thus following the admonition of the priests who are the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they demonstrate to him that he will be acting like a godly and virtuous man. Any who accept this advice end their lives accordingly, either dying by starvation or in their sleep without feeling death. But they cause no one to die thus against his will, nor do they relax their care for him, believing it to be an honourable death. Anyone who kills himself before the priests and the council have consented to his death is not buried or cremated, but his body is thrown into some foul marsh.

A woman is not married until she is eighteen; a man four years older. If either the man or the woman is proved to have offended before marriage, the party that has sinned is severely

punished, and both the offenders are forbidden ever to marry unless they obtain the Prince's pardon. Both the master and the mistress of the house where the offence was committed are reprimanded for neglecting their duty. This offence is severely punished because they realize that unless vice is carefully guarded against few will enter the married state, which ties two people to each other for life and necessitates their bearing together with patience all griefs and misfortunes that come upon them.

Further, in choosing wives and husbands, they religiously and strictly observe a custom which, however, seemed to us very foolish at first. A staid and honest matron presents the woman—whether maid or widow—naked to the wooer; and a responsible and discreet man presents the man naked to the woman. We laughed at this custom, and thought it silly; but

they on the other hand were surprised at the folly of people of other nations, who even in buying a colt—which is merely a matter of money—are so chary and cautious that they will not conclude the deal until the saddle and harness has been taken off, for fear some gall or sore may be hidden under them. Yet in choosing a wife, who must be either a pleasure or displeasure to them all their life, they are so reckless that, the woman's body being covered with clothes, they judge of her beauty merely by seeing her face and are married forthwith. This involves the danger of trouble in the future if subsequently it should be found that she is physically repulsive to them. Everyone is not so wise as to care chiefly about the good character of his spouse; and the charms of the body enhance the virtues of the mind even in the marriages of wise men. Such terrible de-

formities may be hidden as may quite alienate a man from his wife, when they can no longer be legally separated. If such deformity arises by accident after marriage, of course there is no remedy but patience: every one must take his fortune and make the best of it. But a law might well be passed by which such deceptions might be detected and avoided beforehand.

They gave the matter very serious consideration because they are the only nation in that part of the world who allow a man only one wife. Matrimony is never broken there except by death, unless unfaithfulness or the intolerable behaviour of either party breaks the bond. If either discovers just cause of serious complaint, he is granted a license by the council to take another partner; the guilty party has to live unmarried in disgrace. But by no means will they allow a husband to divorce his wife

merely for some accident that has befallen her; they very properly consider it great cruelty that anybody should be forsaken when they most need help and comfort, or that old age which brings sickness with it and is a sickness in itself, should be unkindly and unfaithfully treated. But now and then it happens that the man and woman cannot agree between themselves, each finding another with whom he hopes to live more peaceably and happily; in that case, with the full consent of both, they are divorced and are allowed to marry again—but not without the authority of the council, which agrees to no divorces before the councillors and their wives have thoroughly sifted and examined the case. Even then they are loath to consent to it, because they know that to have hopes of a new marriage encourages divisions between man and wife.

Breakers of wedlock are punished by the severest grade of slavery. If both the offenders were married people, the parties who have suffered the wrong are granted a divorce, and can marry each other if they like, or anyone they wish. But if either of the innocent parties still continues to love so unkind and unfaithful a spouse, he is allowed to follow the condemned person into slavery. In the end it very often happens that the repentance of the guilty party, and the constancy and faith of the other, moves the prince to pity and compassion, and he gives the enslaved person his freedom again. But if he should be convicted of the same crime again, he is put to death. No punishments are prescribed by law for other crimes, but the penalty is moderated at the discretion of the council to fit the gravity of the offence.

Husbands punish their wives, and parents

their children, unless the crime is so serious that public punishment is necessary for example's sake. The most heinous faults are usually punished by slavery, which is an effective penance to the offender, and more profitable to the commonwealth than the death penalty. More advantage accrues from their labour than their death, and the living example makes others shrink from committing similar offences. If the offenders rebel against this treatment, they are put to death as desperate characters, whom neither prison nor chains can restrain. Those who bear their slavery patiently are not left hopeless. After they have been broken and subdued by their long miseries, if they show such sincere repentance as to be more sorry for their offence than for their punishment, by the Prince's prerogative or by public consent their slavery is mitigated or entirely remitted. Who-

ever is convicted of a deliberate attempt to commit crime is considered as guilty as one who has been caught in the act: for it is a root principle of Utopian law that a wicked motive is as reprehensible as a wicked act.

They greatly enjoy being amused by fools and clowns, and any one who, resenting their witticisms, hurts them, is looked down upon. They do not discourage people from being entertained by them, because in this way the clowns get a living respectably. If anyone is so sour that he derives no amusement from their words or actions, they see to it that none of them are attached to his household, for fear he would not treat them kindly, and to such a curmudgeon they would be a source of neither pleasure nor profit. It is considered disgraceful to taunt anyone for deformity or for the loss of a limb, or to ridicule a man for something that it was not in his

power to avoid. They think it the sign of a small mind not to be able to take pleasure in natural beauty and grace, but to attempt to enhance it with paint and powder is looked upon as shameful pride and vanity. They know by experience, that no beauty is so attractive in the eyes of a husband as the virtue and humility of his wife. Love is often won with beauty, but it is not preserved without virtue and obedience.

They do not only try to keep people from committing crimes by fear of punishment; but by distributing honours to those whose characters merit them they incite others to pursue honourable careers. They set up in the market places statues of notable men, who have been great and bountiful benefactors to the state, to perpetuate the memory of their good acts, and in order that the glory and renown of their an-

cestors may incite posterity to follow their good examples. He who desires promotion purely from ambitious motives, however, need never hope to attain it as long as he lives.

It is remarkable in what concord and amity the people live together. No magistrate is haughty or tyrannical; they are called fathers, and like fathers they behave, and the people give them due honour freely. The Prince himself is not distinguished from others by any regal clothes or robes of state, or by a royal crown or diadem. He is merely to be distinguished by a little sheaf of corn being carried before him when he walks about; in the same way a wax taper is borne before a bishop.

In Utopia there are but few laws, which suffice for a people so well instructed and governed. They condemn other nations for their

innumerable books of laws, and expositions of laws, which even then are apparently insufficient. They think it contrary to all justice that men should be bound in all directions by laws more numerous than they can master, or so complicated and involved that no one can understand them. It is in the same spirit that they disapprove of all barristers, lawyers, and solicitors whose duty it is to take such matters in hand, and discourse ingeniously on the law. They think it more fitting that every man should plead his own case, and tell the same tale to the judge that he would tell to his lawyer. In this way their law suits are less wordy, and the truth comes to light the sooner. The judge discreetly weighs the words of the petitioner whom no lawyer has prompted and posted; and the judge also helps and encourages the simple-minded in coping with the false

and malicious inventions of crafty people. This is made practically impossible in other countries through the infinite number of blind and intricate laws; but in Utopia every man is knowing in law, for as I said, they have very few, and the plainer and more obvious an interpretation is, the more just they consider it. Their idea is that laws are framed and published only to remind men of their duty, and that ingenious, hair-splitting interpretations of law, which few can understand, cannot fulfill this object. Taking into consideration the common people who comprise the masses, and have most need to be reminded of their duty, were it not as well for them that no laws were made at all, as that when they are made such an intricate interpretation is given that no one can discuss it without long intellectual arguments? The common intelligence of the people cannot rise to such

discussions, nor, being fully occupied in working for their living, can they be expected to give the time to master their intricate windings.

The high qualities of the Utopians have led to the neighbouring nations,—who are free people also, the Utopians having long ago delivered them from tyranny,—taking magistrates from them, sometimes for periods of a year, sometimes for five years. When their appointments expire, they come home again with honours and others take their places. These neighbouring nations undoubtedly act wisely in so doing, for the making or marring of a state depends largely upon the characters of the rulers and magistrates. And what better officials could they choose than those who cannot be influenced by bribes,—for to the Utopians, shortly returning to their own country, money would be useless, and they are not likely to be influ-

enced impartially towards anyone, being strangers to the people. The vices of prejudice and avarice, where they are allowed to warp judgment, undermine justice, which is the strongest and surest foundation of a state. The nations who draw upon them for officers and rulers, the Utopians call their allies; others with whom they are on good terms they call their friends.

But as regards international alliances such as are so often arranged abroad, merely to be broken and renewed, the Utopians conclude no formal treaties with any nation. What purpose can they serve? Is not the bond of nature sufficient between man and man? If a man will not obey the law of nature, do you think he will be influenced by words? Perhaps they adhere to this opinion chiefly because in those parts of

the world compacts between princes are wont to be very lightly treated! Of course here in Europe,—especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigns,—the sanctity of an alliance is esteemed inviolate, by virtue of the justice of the reigning powers and the reverence and influence of the archbishops! Their Graces, who make no promises themselves without religiously fulfilling them, exhort all princes to abide by their undertakings, and if they refuse to do so, they bring their pontifical power and authority to bear. They think, with reason, that it would be a great disgrace if in the alliances of such as are called faithful, faith should play no part. But in that new-found part of the world,—which is scarcely as far removed from us in point of distance, as in the life and manners of the people inhabiting it,—no confidence is placed in international leagues or treaties!

The more sacred the ceremonies by which the alliance is sealed, the sooner it is broken by some cavil at the wording of it—often intentionally ambiguous, so that the terms shall never be so explicit but the parties can find some means of evading their obligations, and of breaking both league and truth. Such fraud and deceit, if practiced among private individuals in their bargains and contracts, would be openly condemned as detestable, and deserving the punishment of a shameful death,—yes, and even those would condemn it who freely tender such advice to governments. It may well be asked whether justice is not some humble quality, quite beneath the high dignity of kings; or whether, perhaps, there are two kinds of justice, one fit for the inferior sort of people, and going humbly afoot, or abjectly creeping upon the ground, bound down on every side with re-

strictions so that it shall not run riot; the other a princely virtue, which, being of much higher majesty than the other poor justice, has far greater liberty,—to which, in fact, nothing is unlawful that it desires!

This habit of rulers causes the Utopians, I suppose, to decide against making alliances at all. Perhaps they would change their minds if they lived over here! At present, however, they think that even if alliances were faithfully observed, they are wrong in principle, inviting individuals and nations—who, even though separated by a hill or river, are united by social and natural ties—to look upon themselves as born adversaries and enemies, and making it appear lawful for them to plot each other's death and destruction unless there is some treaty between them. Even after treaties are signed, friendship does not increase; robbing

and stealing still continue, because, forsooth, through lack of foresight the wording of the treaty omitted to prevent it specifically! But the Utopians consider that, on the contrary, a man or a nation ought not to be looked upon as an enemy without clear cause; that the fellowship of nature is in itself a strong enough bond; and that men and nations are better and more surely knit together by love and good-will than by agreements and alliances,—by the true affection of the mind, than by mere words.

The Utopians detest and abhor war, considering it brutal,—and yet it is not as common among animals as among men. Contrary to the custom of most other nations they think very little of glory gained in war. So, though both men and women daily exercise themselves in military discipline lest they should be deficient in practice if necessity arose, they never go

to war except in defence of their own country, or to drive enemies out of their friends' lands if they are invaded, or, if it is in their power, to deliver from tyranny some nation which is being oppressed—which they do out of mere pity for them. They will sometimes send help to their friends not only in their defence, but to revenge injuries done to them. They only do this when they are appealed to, and while the injury is fresh. If they find the cause just, and if the offenders refuse to restore what is justly demanded, they proceed to declare war. They are prepared to take such action either to punish aggressive and predatory raids, or still more vigorously when the merchants of a friendly nation travelling in a foreign land, either because of inequitable laws or the wrong interpretation of good laws, have injustice administered by the foreign courts under colour of justice.

The battle which the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes, a little before our arrival, took place because some Nephelogetan merchants, as the Utopians thought, were wronged by the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of receiving justice. But whether it was right or wrong it resulted in a deadly war, the neighbouring countries respectively supporting the parties, and involving several of the most wealthy nations some of whom were severely shaken and some disastrously beaten. The mischief was not ended until the Alaopolitanes ultimately became the slaves of the Nephelogetes. As you see, the Utopians did not fight this war for their own benefit, and before the war the Nephelogetes were not to be compared in wealth with the Alaopolitanes.

The Utopians are always prompt to punish injuries done to friendly nations—even in

money matters which are not their own affair. If their friends are robbed of their goods by deceit, and no personal violence is done, they revenge it by abstaining from trading with the offending nation until they have rendered satisfaction. Not that they interest themselves less in their own citizens than in their friends, but they take the loss of their friends' money more to heart than the loss of their own. Their friends' merchants, dealing in their own private goods, sustain great hardship by the loss; but their own citizens are trading only in goods which are common property, and which are plentiful or even superfluous at home, or they would not have been sent out of the country. So if they themselves are robbed no one individually feels the loss, and they think it would be cruel to revenge with death a loss which no one actually feels. But if it happens that any of

their men are injured or killed abroad, no matter whether it is done by a private band or the people at large, they find out the true circumstances through their ambassadors, and unless the offenders are surrendered to them they do not consider they have received satisfaction, and proclaim war against the foreigners. If the offenders are given up, their punishment is either death or slavery. They not only feel grieved, but positively ashamed, at a victory achieved with bloodshed; with them it is considered great folly to buy even precious wares at too dear a price!

They rejoice if they vanquish their enemies by tactics and strategy, and, looking upon it as a national triumph, they commemorate the place by setting up a pillar of stone in token of the victory. To be victorious by this means makes them very proud; to them it appears

true manliness to have vanquished an enemy as no living creature but man could—that is to say, by the power of intelligence. They argue that bears, lions, boars, wolves, and other wild beasts fight by means of physical strength, and though most of them surpass us in muscle and in brute courage, in intelligence and reason man is stronger than them all.

They will not go to war until they have exhausted every other possible means of attaining the object in view. If they are forced to do so, however, they take such dire vengeance on the offenders that they are afraid to repeat the offence. This is their chief and principal purpose, and to it they give first consideration in all plans of campaign. But they are more circumspect in avoiding risks than anxious for praise and renown. Immediately war is formally declared they have many proclamations, signed with the

national seal, posted up simultaneously throughout their enemies' country in the most frequented places. In these proclamations they promise liberal rewards for the life of the enemies' ruler, and for the heads of such as are proscribed in the proclamation. Whatever rewards are offered for the heads of the proclaimed individuals, are doubled if they are brought alive; and to the proscribed persons themselves, if they will secede and come over to the Utopians' side, are offered the same generous rewards with a free pardon and the safety of their lives. This at once makes their enemies suspicious of each other and causes them to live in constant fear and risk of treachery. It is well known that at different times, many, specially rulers themselves, have been betrayed by those upon whom they most relied. It seems that there is no kind of deed which men will not attempt for the sake of a reward.

There is no limit to the rewards the Utopians offer, knowing that great risks must be recompensed proportionately. With this idea they promise not only large sums of money, but lands of great value situated amongst their friends. Such promises they faithfully fulfill, without fraud or deceit.

This custom of buying and selling an enemy is condemned among other nations as cruel and cowardly. But the Utopians think it justifiable and wise policy to end warfare by this means, perhaps without a battle or even a single skirmish. Indeed they consider it humane, at the cost of the death of a few offenders to spare the lives of a great number of innocent soldiers, —their own as well as their enemies',—who would otherwise have been killed fighting. They show the same humanity to the lower classes of the enemy as they do to their own lower

classes, knowing that they have been forced into war willy-nilly by the impetuosity of their princes and rulers.

If none of these tactics prosper their cause satisfactorily, they try to insinuate causes of dissension among the enemy, such as by supporting the claim of a brother of the reigning prince, or one of the noblemen, to the throne. If this does not avail, they stir up the neighbouring nations to threaten them with some antiquated title to the country, which is never lacking amongst reigning houses. They promise such nations support in the war against their common enemy, and ample funds to carry it through. They send as few as possible of their own citizens to the war, having their interest and welfare so thoroughly at heart that they would not exchange any one of them even for the enemy's ruler. Their gold and silver, which

they keep only for this very purpose, they lay out freely, for they would live just as prosperously if they had bestowed every penny of it in gaining a victory. Besides abundance in their treasury at home, they have almost unlimited credit abroad, since, as I said before, many nations are in their debt; so they are able to hire mercenaries from all the neighbouring countries (though they draw them chiefly from the Zapoletes) and send them to the war instead of their own men.

The Zapoletes live five hundred miles east of Utopia. They are a hideous, savage, fierce race, dwelling in wild woods and high mountains, where they are bred and reared. They are hardy, and able to sustain heat and cold and severe exertion, avoiding and despising luxuries of any kind. They engage in no farming or agriculture; their clothing is homely and their

building is primitive; their only useful occupation is the breeding of cattle. In fact they make their living chiefly by hunting and stealing. They are warlike to the bone, lose no opportunity of a fight, and are perfectly happy when they get it. They go out in great bands, and to any nation needing soldiers they proffer their service for small wages. Thus, killing others is their main means of getting a living: they maintain their life by seeking death. They fight faithfully and fiercely for those who hire them, but they will sell their services for no fixed period; only upon this condition will they serve, with the result that next day they will be taking the part of the other side for higher wages, and the next day after that they will be ready to come back again for a little more pay!

There are few wars out there in which a

great number of them are not engaged on both sides. So it is a constant occurrence that near relatives who at the outset were hired together on one side and were the best of friends, shortly after, taking opposite sides, find themselves face to face in fierce encounter, and forgetting kindred and friendship, hack each other to pieces for no other reason than that they were hired by the opposing forces for a little money! They value money so highly that they are easily persuaded to change sides for a halfpenny more wages per day. The covetousness to which they are such slaves is no advantage to them, for what they get by fighting they spend immediately in useless and sordid riot.

These people fight for the Utopians against all nations, because they give them higher wages than any other nation will. The Utopians employ good men upon worthy objects,

but do not scruple to employ vile characters upon debasing work, promising them liberal pay for the dangers they face. Many never return to demand their wages, but to those who survive they pay honourably what was agreed upon, so that they may enter their service again if necessary. The Utopians do not care how many of the Zapoletes are killed on their behalf,—indeed, they believe it would be a good thing to rid the world of such a wicked and degraded race.

If they require others besides the Zapoletes, they draw next upon the soldiers of the nations for which they have fought, and upon their other friends, and only in the last resort upon their own citizens. To someone of wide experience and tried valour they give full charge of their whole army. Under him are appointed two others, who, however, hold no commission

while their superior is in full command; but if he is taken prisoner or killed, one of the other two officers succeeds him—and so on. This is a very necessary provision against the risks of war, for otherwise the death of the commander might endanger the fortune of the whole army. Their own soldiers are recruited from every city, enlisting voluntarily. They force no one to go to war against his will, because if any one is timid and faint-hearted by nature, his example may infect others with cowardice.

If war is declared against them, such cowards, if they are able-bodied, are put in ships among men of courage, or are stationed on the fortifications, from which they cannot desert. Often, when the enemy are at close quarters and they have no chance of flight their fear leaves them and dire necessity turns their inherent cow-

ardice into manliness. Women who are willing to accompany their husbands to war are allowed to do so,—in fact it is encouraged and approved. On the battlefield the wives stand by their husbands' side, and as far as possible each man has near him such of his kith and kin as are fighting, so that the natural ties between them may incite them to additional valour for mutual protection. It is a disgrace to a husband to return from the war without his wife, or a wife without her husband, or a son without his father; and so, if the enemy presses hard and the battle seems to be going in their favour, it is fought with terrible slaughter and bloodshed on both sides. They take all possible means to avoid the necessity of their own people fighting, and endeavour to use mercenaries only; however, when there is no help for it, the Utopians themselves fight bravely and well.

It is not at the beginning of the battle that they are bravest; little by little their courage is roused until they become so indomitable that they would rather die than give way an inch. The knowledge of security at home, with no anxiety as to how their family will live after they are gone—for that is what makes a brave man quail—makes them brave and plucky and contemptuous of their enemy. Again their knowledge of military matters gives them confidence, and finally, the sound doctrine inculcated from their childhood increases their natural courage, neither teaching them to set so little store by their lives as to put themselves in needless peril, nor to love their lives so dearly as to try to preserve them when honour demands that they shall risk them.

When the battle is at its height a band of picked young men take oath to live or die to-

gether in an attack upon the person of their enemies' commander, and forthwith set upon him by force or strategy. They attack him from every direction in a continuous assault, fresh men replacing their tired comrades. It seldom occurs, unless he saves himself by flight, that the captain is not either killed, or taken prisoner and handed over to his enemies alive. After a victory they do not treat their enemies cruelly. They never pursue them without leaving part of their army, in proper formation, at the base of operations. Even supposing the whole of the Utopian army were scattered except the rear guard, they would keep that in close formation, and would rather let the enemy leave the field unharmed than that it should attempt to pursue them. They remember what has happened to them more than once. The main strength of the Utopian army having been

broken, the enemy, triumphant at their victory, have pursued in all directions. Then a small company of their own men, lying in ambush ready for any contingency, have suddenly emerged, and have, in turn, scattered the pursuers in confusion. By this simple strategy the whole fortune of the battle has been changed, and in spite of having lost utterly at first, they have ultimately conquered the seeming victors.

It is difficult to say whether they are sharper at preparing an ambush, or at evading one. As for strategy, one would think they intended to fly when they mean to do nothing of the kind; and, when they do intend to, you would believe it had never entered their thoughts! If they see they are outmatched in numbers, or hemmed in somewhere, perhaps they will remove their camp silently at night, deceiving the enemy by clever tactics; or in the day time they

will retire in such orderly array, that it is as dangerous to attack them retreating as advancing.

They fence and fortify their camps securely with deep, broad trenches, throwing the earth inwards. They do not set slaves to work on fortifications; it is done by the soldiers themselves—in fact the whole army works at it, except those who keep armed watch before the fortifications, in case of sudden attack. The armour they wear is strong and not too cumbersome—indeed they are able to swim in it, and are taught to do so when training for war. Their chief weapons are arrows, which they shoot with sure aim and great force, and are used by both foot soldiers and horsemen. For hand to hand fighting they do not use swords but pole-axes, which are deadly weapons, sharp and heavy. They invent all kinds of ingenious can-

non, keeping them very secret, lest they should get known beforehand and serve no purpose. In making them their chief object is that they should be easily carried and handled.

If they make a truce with their enemies for a while, they keep it honourably and strictly, and will not break it under any provocation. They will not ravage their enemies' country by foraging, nor burn their crops; in fact, in their own interests they save it as much as possible from being overrun and trodden down by men and horses. They harm no one that is unarmed unless he is a spy. All cities that are surrendered they defend, and those they win by force they neither despoil nor sack, but the citizens who withstood the capitulation of it are put to death, and the soldiers within it they make slaves; but all the defenceless inhabitants are left unharmed. If they discover that any of the citi-

zens advised the surrendering of the city, they give them part of the condemned men's property; the remainder is distributed among those who helped them in the war. None of them takes any of the booty for himself.

When the war is finished, they exact no war expenses from their friends, but levy it from the conquered nations, partly in money to be kept for use in battle and to be paid to them yearly forever, and partly in valuable estates. They still derive such revenues from many countries, and in course of time the total has accumulated to above £300,000 yearly. To these countries they send representatives, who live there sumptuously in high honour. The surplus goes into the common treasury, unless they prefer to trust the country with the money until they want to collect it. It seldom happens that it is demanded in full. Of the estates, they

assign part to those who had enlisted in their ranks. If a ruler declares war against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him outside their frontiers with a powerful army. They never like to risk having a war within their own country, and thus far they have never been in such extreme straits as to be obliged to import foreign soldiers into the island itself.

RELIGIONS, DEATH AND IMMORTALITY, PRIESTHOOD, FORMS OF WORSHIP

There are different kinds of religion in all parts of the island and in every city. Some worship the sun as a god; some the moon; some, some of the planets. Others worship a man who was once famous for virtue and glory, not as a god only, but as the supreme God. But the majority, and the wisest, rejecting these theories, believe that there is a certain godly power, unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the reach and capacity of man's intellect, diffused throughout all the world, great not in bigness but in virtue and power: Him they call the Father of all. To Him alone they attribute the origin, the growth, the

development, the change, and the end of all things. Nor do they pay divine honours to any deity but Him. All the sects, whatever their other opinions, agree in believing that there is one supreme God, the maker and ruler of the world, whom in the Utopian language they call Mythra. They do not all agree, however, as to which of the many gods is supreme. Everyone, however, no matter which god he considers the chief, attributes the same qualities to the supreme being, and believes that He alone possesses divine might and majesty, and to Him the sum and sovereignty of all things is attributed by common consent of the people. However, little by little, the sects are abandoning their various superstitions in favour of the generally accepted religion, which seems to excel the others in commonsense and reason.

There is no doubt that all the other religions

would long ago have disappeared, but that if some misfortune happened to any one who was disposed to change his religion, the superstition of the masses attributed it not to chance, but as sent from heaven by God,—as though the god whose honour he was forsaking would revenge himself!

But after they heard us speak of Christ, of His doctrine, laws, miracles, and of the no less wonderful faith of the martyrs, whose blood, willingly shed, converted a great number of nations all over the world—you would not believe how readily they accepted Christianity, whether it was by the inspiration of God, or whether it was that they thought it very similar to the highest religion generally in vogue among them. I think, however, that it was no small argument in its favour, that Christ instituted equality and common ownership among

His followers, and that this principle still obtains in the best Christian communities. Many of them were converted to our religion and were baptized. But among us four (two of our company having died) there was no priest, which was to be regretted, since, having been instructed in all other points of our religion, they lacked only those sacraments which can be administered by priests alone. Nevertheless, they understood them perfectly, and were very anxious to receive them, discussing very earnestly among themselves whether, without a Christian bishop being sent to them, one chosen from their own people might receive the order of priesthood. And they seemed inclined to appoint one; but at my departure they had not yet done so.

Those who could not agree with Christ's religion did not oppose those who wished to join

it, and did not abuse any who adopted it. One of the converts, however, was severely punished in my presence. As soon as he was baptized, he began, much against our will, to argue about Christianity with more zeal than wisdom; and he became so excited, that he not only upheld our religion above all others, but utterly despised and condemned the rest, calling them profane and their followers wicked and devilish and the children of everlasting damnation! When he had talked in this way for some time, they arrested him and condemned him to exile —not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person who was stirring up dissension among the people.

It is one of their most ancient laws, that no one shall be deterred from arguing tolerantly in defence of his own religion. King Utopus, from the first, heard that the inhabitants of the

land before his coming were continually quarreling about their religions, and realized that this spirit of dissension was what enabled him to defeat them, since every sect took independent action even when fighting for their common country. As soon as he had gained the victory, he passed a decree that it should be lawful for any one to follow whatever religion he wished, and that he might do the best he could to bring others to his opinion so long as he did it gently and peaceably, without using hasty and contentious arguments; if he could convert his hearers by fair speech, well and good; but he must refrain from any kind of violence and from unpleasant remarks. Whoever persisted in advocating his religion so vehemently as to cause trouble, was to be punished by banishment or slavery.

King Utopus made this law in the interests

of peace and good-will, which he saw was continually disturbed by heated contentions and because he thought it would benefit religion itself. On this subject he himself did not venture to lay down or define anything dogmatically, as he doubted whether God, who approved many different sorts of characters, would not inspire men with various kinds of religion. Utopus thought it very foolish of anyone, and arrogant presumption, to try to compel others by violent and threatening language to agree with whatever he happened to believe to be true!

Furthermore, if as a matter of fact there is only one religion which is true, and all others are mere vain superstitions, he foresaw that if reason were practiced, the truth as to the Deity, and the source of power, would ultimately come to light. But if continually subjected to con-

tention and intolerant debate, he realized that even the best and holiest religion might easily be destroyed by vain superstitions,—just as the worst men are more stubborn in their evil courses, and as good corn is overgrown and choked by thorns and weeds. So he left it an open question, and gave everyone liberty to believe what he would—except that he earnestly admonished them that no one should conceive so vile and base an opinion of man's nature as to suppose that the soul dies with the body, or that the world is ruled by chance and not by a divine providence.

So it is generally accepted and believed that after this life vices are severely punished and virtues bountifully rewarded. Whoever is of contrary opinion, in this matter of principle, is thought to be degrading the high quality of his soul to the level of the beasts, and liable to dis-

regard the laws and ordinances of citizenship but for fear of punishment. For you may be sure that he who only fears the law will either try to ridicule it, or break it surreptitiously. Such men are deprived of all honours, excluded from all public offices in the state, and are universally despised. Nevertheless, they do not punish them, because they hold that a man's belief is not entirely in his own power. Nor do they threaten him in any way, lest he should dissemble,—and they detest deceit and falsehood. They do not allow him to spread his opinions among the uneducated people, though among priests and men of learning they urge him to discuss his views, in the hope that ultimately his madness will give place to reason.

There is another unorthodox sect, in no small numbers, who, however, are not forbidden to speak their minds, as their opinions are based

upon reason and their lives are not disreputable. Their heresy is very different from the previous kind. They believe that souls of animals are immortal, but not to be compared with man's in dignity, nor ordained to equal felicity.

It is generally believed that man's joy hereafter will be so great, that though they grieve for a man in sickness, they rejoice at his death —unless he departs this life reluctantly. This they consider a very bad sign,—as though the soul were in despair and had some prescience of punishment at hand, and were afraid to depart. They believe that such as go to God unwillingly, drawn to Him forcibly against their inclinations, will be unwelcome to Him.

This kind of death repels them, and they bury the body in the earth, sorrowfully and in silence, praying God to be merciful to the soul

and pardon its infirmities. On the other hand no one mourns for those who depart hopefully. They follow the hearse with joyful singing, commending the soul to God with great affection; finally, not mourning, but very reverently, they burn the body, and set up a monument with the name of the dead engraved upon it. When they return home they recall the virtues and good deeds of the departed; but no part of his life is so gladly spoken of as the cheerful way in which he met death.

They think that remembrance of the virtues of the dead tends to incite the living to virtue; and that nothing can be more acceptable to the dead themselves,—whom they believe to be present, though to the eye of mortal man they are invisible,—than when they talk of them. It would seem inconceivable that the blessed were not at liberty to be where they wished, and

it would seem unkind of them to relinquish the desire to be with their relations and friends to whom they were joined in life by ties of mutual love—a quality which, in good men, they consider is rather increased than diminished after death. So they believe that the dead are ever present among the living, and witness all their words and deeds. This belief encourages the living in their work, for they place trust and confidence in such watchers. Similarly, the belief in the presence of their forefathers and ancestors among them makes them shrink from all secret dishonesty.

They utterly despise soothsayings, and divinations of the future by the flight of birds, and all other vain superstitions which are in vogue in other countries; but they reverence and worship miracles that come supernaturally, as works and witnesses of the present power of

God. Such, they say, occur there very often; and sometimes, in connection with an important event, by virtue of strong hope and confidence and a steadfast belief in common intercession and prayer, a miracle will be granted.

There are many who think that the contemplation and admiration of nature is a very acceptable honour to God. Others, again, who are earnestly religious, do not give their minds to learning or to acquiring knowledge; but they utterly disapprove of idleness, and think that felicity in the next life is obtained by active labour and good deeds in this. Of this persuasion some attend the sick, some mend the highways, clean out ditches, repair bridges, dig soil, gravel and stones, sell and cut wood, cart corn, wood and other things into the city, and labour both in public works and as private servants, and do even more than slaves. Whatever un-

pleasant and hard work there is to be done from which others shrink, they take upon themselves willingly and gladly, procuring quiet and rest for others while they are continually working themselves, though without reproaching others for it or reproving other men for their lives, or glorying in their own. The more serviceable these men are, the more they are honoured by all.

But there are two sects of these workers, one that lives single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating flesh. They utterly reject the pleasures of this life as harmful, centring their whole desire upon the life to come, hoping by vigilance and labour shortly to obtain it, but being in the meantime happy and healthy. The other sect is no less laborious, but they embrace matrimony, not despising its solace, and thinking

that they can neither fulfill their duty towards nature without toil and labour, nor towards their native country without procreation of children. They abstain from no pleasure that does not interfere with their work. They eat meat, because they believe that thereby they become hardier and stronger for their work.

The Utopians consider this sect wiser, but the other holier—though if they professed to base their mode of life upon reason, preferring celibacy to matrimony, and an arduous existence to a comfortable one, they would ridicule them. But as they are influenced simply by religion, they honour and esteem them, and they call them by a peculiar name, Buthrescas, which means Men of Religion.

The Utopian priests are of extreme holiness, and there are very few of them—only thirteen

in each city, the same as the number of churches. When they go to war, seven of them accompany the army, and in their stead new ones are appointed at home. But after the war the substitutes return to their usual occupations, until there are vacancies for them; in the meantime they are under the supervision of the bishop, who is at the head of them all. Priests are elected by the people, as other officials are, by secret ballot,—to avoid rancour. After their election they are consecrated by their order. They are the overseers of all spiritual and religious matters, and, as it were, judges of manners. It is considered a great disgrace to be rebuked by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living. It is their duty to exhort and give good advice; but it is the business of the Prince and the magistrates to punish offenders. Those whom the priests find to be evil livers

are excommunicated and debarred from participating in any way in divine matters: there is scarcely any punishment more feared. People thus branded are publicly disgraced, are inwardly tormented with a secret fear of religion, and are even in risk of their lives. Unless they quickly repent and mend their ways, they are taken and punished by the council as vicious and irreligious.

The priests instruct both children and youths in general knowledge, morals, and good manners. They endeavour to put good doctrines into the heads of the children, while they are still young and receptive, and to inculcate loyalty to the state. Such ideas once rooted in children remain with them all their lives, and wonderfully serve to defend and maintain the state, which would never decay but for the pernicious influence of base notions.

The male priests—women are not excluded from priesthood, though few are chosen, and none but widows and old women—marry among the best families of the country; with the Utopians no office is accorded higher honour and rank. Indeed, if a priest commits any offence, he is subject to no common judgment of the law, but is left only to God and himself. They think it would be sacrilegious to touch one who, however vicious, was specially dedicated and consecrated to God, as a holy offering. Their priests not being numerous, and being chosen with such circumspection, they are able to carry this out in practice.

It scarcely ever happens that one chosen for his pre-eminent virtue falls to vice and wickedness. And if it should happen through the frailty of human nature, the priests being so few and not being invested with secular power,

no great damage could be done by them to the commonwealth. They restrict the number of the priests lest, if the honour were shared by many, the dignity of the order might be impaired; and it is not easy to find many people worthy of the dignity and possessed of such rare virtue.

The standing of the Utopian priesthood is as high with foreigners as it is with their own countrymen. In war, while the armies are fighting they kneel not far off in their hallowed vestments, holding up their hands to heaven, and praying first for peace, next for victory of their own side, but to neither a bloody victory. If their people get the upper hand, they run into the field and restrain the soldiers from cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies. The lives of any of the enemy who appeal to a priest are spared; and the touching of a priest's

vestments saves all their property from being seized. This tradition has so enhanced the honour of the priesthood among other nations that they can as effectively protect their own citizens from being cruelly treated by the enemy, as the enemy from the onslaught of the Utopian soldiery. It has happened that when their own army has retreated in despair, the enemy pursuing them with slaughter, the priests have intervened and prevented bloodshed and peace has been concluded upon fair terms. Surely there never was a nation so cruel and uncivilized, but they reverenced priests and held their persons sacred!

In Utopia the first and last day of every month and year are kept holy, the year being divided into months determined by the course of the moon, and the year itself by the course

of the sun. The first days they call in their language Lynemernes and the last Trapemernes, which may be interpreted primifest and finifest, or first feast and last feast.

Their churches are very gorgeous, and not only of fine and curious workmanship but also, owing to the small number, very large and able to hold great congregations. They are all somewhat dark, not due to ignorance in building, but at the instance of the priests, who believe too much light distract people's thoughts, whereas in a dim and subdued light they are more collected and earnestly intent upon religion and devotion. The congregation consists not of one sect only, but of many, who, though so varied and numerous, agree to do honour to the divine being, all going, as it were, different ways to the same end. Nothing is said or done in the churches but what is in harmony with the common belief of all sects.

If there is a special sacrament peculiar to any sect, they perform that service in their own houses. The general sacraments in the churches are so arranged that they do not conflict with those of the various specific religions. No image of any god is seen in a church, so that every one may be left free to conceive of God according to whatever likeness and similitude he will. Only such prayers are used as everyone can say, without offending any sect. They go to church the last day of every month and year in the evening, fasting, to give thanks to God that the year or month has passed prosperously. The next day they come to church early in the morning, to pray God that they may meet with good fortune and success throughout the new year or month then beginning. On the holy days that end the months and years, before they go to church, the wives fall down

before their husbands' feet at home, and the children before the feet of their parents, confessing and acknowledging themselves offenders, either by some actual word or deed or by omission of their duty, and ask pardon for their offences. Thus if any cloud of displeasure has risen at home, it is dispelled by this act of satisfaction, and they are able to attend the sacraments with pure and charitable minds; they are afraid to take them with troubled consciences. If they know that they bear any grudge towards any one, they do not presume to come to the services until they have made their peace and purged their consciences, for fear they will be visited by divine punishment.

' In church the men keep to the right side and the women to the left. They sit in such order that all the males of one household are in front of the master of the house, and the females sit

before the mistress. Thus all their gestures and behaviour can be observed by those under whose authority and discipline they live at home. They also see that the younger ones always accompany the elder, lest children being together should pass the time in childish play, instead of in religious and devout fear towards God,—which is the chief and almost the only inspiration to virtue.

They sacrifice no animals, thinking that a merciful God cannot take delight in blood and slaughter, who has given life to animals. They burn frankincense and other sweet savours and light a great number of wax candles and tapers, not supposing this to be requisite to the divine nature any more than are the prayers of men. But this harmless kind of worship pleases them, and by such sweet savours and lights and other ceremonies people feel themselves encouraged

to devotion with more fervent and willing hearts. In church the people wear white; the priest is robed in various coloured vestments of excellent workmanship, but not of very costly material. Their vestments are neither embroidered with gold nor set with precious stones, but are wrought so finely with different kinds of birds' feathers, that the costliest stuff is not to be compared with this work. In these birds' feathers, and in the arrangement of them which is observed in the design, they say there are hidden certain divine mysteries. The knowledge of these mysteries is carefully imparted by the priests, and these vestments put the congregation in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God towards them, and of the love and honour which is due to God from them, and also of their duty towards one another.

When the priest first comes robed out of the

vestry, they all fall down reverently to the ground, in perfect silence, and the very ceremony strikes the fear of God into their hearts, as though He personally were present. When they have remained upon the ground a few moments, the priest gives them a sign to rise. Then they sing praises to God, accompanied with instruments, most of them differing from those we use in this part of the world. Some of ours are much sweeter than theirs, and some of theirs surpass ours. But in one thing they certainly excel us; all their vocal and instrumental music resembles and expresses the natural affections, and so harmonizes with the human feelings, that whether it is a prayer, or a psalm of gladness, of patience, trouble, mourning, or anger, the melody is so wonderfully expressive that it stirs the hearers' minds to the very depths. Finally the people and the priest

together repeat solemn prayers, so worded that everyone may privately apply to himself what is generally expressed.

In these prayers everyone recognizes and acknowledges God to be his maker, his governor, and the principal cause of all goodness, and thanks Him for so many benefits received at His hand, and that through the favour of God, he belongs to this most happy and prosperous state, and has chosen a religion which he hopes is nearest the truth. But if he errs, or if there should be a better state or religion more acceptable to God, he desires Him that He will of His goodness let him have knowledge of them, since he is ready to follow wherever He leads. But if this form of commonwealth be best, and his own religion truest, then he desires God to give him constant and firm faith, and to bring all others to the same way of liv-

ing and to the same knowledge of God,—unless there be anything in this diversity of religion that delights His unsearchable pleasure.

Finally, he prays that after his death he may come to Him. But how soon or how late he does not presume to ask. Howbeit, if it might be His divine pleasure, he would much rather die a painful death and so go to God soon, than by living in worldly prosperity be long away from Him.

When this prayer is said they fall down to the ground again, and in a little while they rise, and leaving the church go home to dinner. The rest of the day is usually passed in sports and military exercises.

FINALE

I have described to you, as clearly as I can, the constitution of a commonwealth or state, which in my judgment is not only the best, but alone gives the right to claim the name of commonwealth. In other places they speak of "the commonwealth," but everyone pursues his own private ends; there, in Utopia, where nothing is private, it is the public interest that is kept carefully in view: and doubtless both are right in their own way. In other countries, who knows but that he will starve, unless he make some separate provision for himself, however flourishing the state may be! So he is compelled to provide for himself, rather than for others. On the other hand, there in Utopia, everything being public property, it is impos-

sible that anyone should ever lack anything necessary for his private use, if the public storehouses and barns are sufficiently stocked.

There nothing is distributed in a niggardly way, nor are there any poor men or beggars; and though no one possesses anything, every one is rich! For who can be more rich than he who lives happily, without grief or anxiety, not worrying about his own living, not vexed and troubled by his wife's importunate complaints, not dreading poverty for his son, not worrying about his daughter's dowery? The Utopians have no anxiety at all about the livelihood or well-being of themselves and their circle,—of their wives, their children, their nephews, their children's children, and all the succession of their posterity that shall follow. And yet, besides this, there is ample provision for those who are too weak and impotent to work any longer.

I cannot believe that any one would dare to compare such equity as this with the so-called justice of other nations. God judge whether there can be found one iota of equity and justice in them! Is that justice which gives a rich goldsmith or usurer or any of those who do nothing at all,—or, at any rate, nothing profitable to the state,—a pleasant living and handsome provision, while poor labourers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters, and ploughmen, toiling like beasts of burden upon tasks so necessary to the prosperity of the state, get such a poor living and endure such wretched lives that the condition of the very animals seems preferable? For animals are not put to such continual labour, and their fare is not much worse, or is even pleasanter,—and meanwhile they take no thought for the future. But these poor wretched labourers are continually driven to

this fruitless toil, while the thought of a beggarly old age stares them in the face. Their daily wage is so meagre that it will not suffice for the day's need, much less leave any surplus that may be laid by for the relief of old age. Is it not an unjust and heartless government that gives great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmiths and such other idle persons, or mere flatterers and devisers of empty pleasures, and makes no provision for the labouring classes without whose services no state can exist? After it has reaped the fruit of their best years; when they are oppressed with old age and sickness, and are needy, poor, and indigent, the state forgets their many faithful and profitable services, and rewards them most ungratefully by leaving them to a miserable death!

And yet in addition to this, the rich, fraudu-

lently and by means of the law, are continually depriving the poor of their daily living. So though we agreed that it was unjust to recompense their services to the state with ingratitude, the rich have gone so far as to give the name of justice to these nefarious practices,—and, what is still worse, to give them the force of law.

When I turn over in my mind all the states and governments that flourish nowadays, so God help me, I can see in them nothing but a conspiracy of rich men procuring their own well-being under the name of "commonwealth." They invent every kind of subtle device, first to keep securely what they have illegally amassed, and then to hire the labour of the poor for as little pay as possible. Such devices the rich men decree shall be respected as

if for the benefit of the community, that is to say, also of the poor people.

And yet how far are our covetous propertied classes, even when they have divided among their own clique what would have sufficed for all, from enjoying the prosperity and happiness of the Utopians? There, where all desire of money is utterly banished, what a load of care is removed! For every one knows that such evils as fraud, theft, brawling, quarreling, strife, contention, murder, treason, poisoning,—which the punishments of the law rather revenge than restrain,—would disappear with money! Again how much fear, care, labour and watching would vanish the very moment money disappeared! Even poverty itself, which only seems to lack money, would take to itself wings if money were gone!

In order that you may appreciate this more

clearly, take some unfruitful year, when many thousands of people have had to starve. I will make bold to say that at the end of the famine as much corn and grain could have been found in the rich men's barns as would have removed all want, had it been divided among those who were perishing of starvation and pestilence.

People might easily get a livelihood if the worshipful princess, Lady Money, did not stop the way between them and their living,—and yet, in God's name, was it not expressly devised that she should open the way to it? I am sure rich men are aware of this, and also how much more salutory it really is to lack no essentials than to possess superfluity; to be rid of innumerable cares and troubles than to be encumbered with great riches.

And I cannot doubt that the interests of the general welfare, or the teaching of our Saviour

Christ (who in His great wisdom could not but know what were best, and in His inestimable goodness could not but counsel it), would have converted the whole world long ago to the principles governing the Utopian commonwealth, but for that vile mother of all mischief, Pride, who withstands it. She does not measure wealth and prosperity by her own sufficiency, but by the misery and want of others! She would not willingly be made a goddess, if there were not wretches over whom she might, like a scornful lady, rule and triumph; over whose miseries her felicity might shine, whose poverty she might torment and increase by the gorgeous display of her riches! That hell-hound creeps into men's hearts and hinders them from entering the right path of life, and is so firmly established that she cannot be ousted!

I have described a form of constitution which

I could wish all nations might enjoy like the Utopians, who have thereby laid such a foundation for their state as will assure it continued prosperity, and as far as one can judge will last forever. The chief causes of sedition and ambition and other vices having been eradicated, there can be no danger of internal dissensions, which alone have frequently undermined well established national wealth and power. Perfect concord remains and just laws are administered, so that the envious intrigues of foreign rulers have not been able to shake or move the well-being of the state.

Thus ended the afternoon's talk of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the laws and institutions of the Island of Utopia.

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